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THE
MORPHOLOGY
OF
CENTRAL SHONA

with prefatory chapters on the
PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY.

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INTRODUCTION

The following work consists of a study of the morphology of some of the Central Shona dialect-groups, with two prefatory chapters which deal with Central Shona phonetics and phonology. Of the Central Shona dialect-groups I have taken Zezuru as my standpoint. It is true that the main differences between the dialect-groups lie in phonetics and vocabulary and not in morphology; nevertheless the work has a Zezuru slant to it while applying very largely to the Karanga and Manyika dialect-groups as well. I think I may claim to present here a Central Shona morphology. Where special forms exist peculiar to a single dialect-group or to a single dialect, I have indicated their incidence.

For my Zezuru information I have relied, in the main, on the Shawasha and Mbire dialects. The Karanga which I present is that of Govera (e.g. the form found in Mrs. C.S.Louw's Manual of Chikaranga) with some Mari which is presented as an extreme form of Karanga. The Manyika presented is that of the Unyama and Guta dialects. I have not used Karombe which is termed by Professor Doke the peak form of Manyika.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should state at the beginning my great indebtedness to the work of Professor C.M.Doke - both the specialist work done in Shona Phonetics and dialect grouping, as well as the wider grammatical studies. His grammars of Zulu and Lamba, as well as the Outline Bantu Grammar, have served me both as models of standard Bantu grammatical writing as well as tools of research into Shona itself. I am much indebted to the earlier grammars and grammatical sketches done in Shona, particularly to that of the late Father F. Marconnès S.J. I have drawn much of the material for my examples from the admirable series of Magwaro okunemba ciZezuru, edited by the Rev. Father E. Edmonstone S.J. Other sources to which I am indebted are the correspondence columns of the African Weekly and Mr. J. Dambaza's Vamartire vokuUganda. Other examples were supplied

to me by Messrs. Simon Taoneyi and Joseph Dambaza, who speak Shawasha, and by Mr. Joseph Museka, who speaks Mbire. I am particularly indebted to the latter for his helpful and intelligent assistance in helping me to explore the finer shades of meaning and emphasis in Shona.

My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Professor G.P. Lestrade, with whom I was fortunate enough to be able to discuss, in friendly association, the whole of the present work, most of it in the detail with which it is now presented. Thus, while writing it, I was able to benefit considerably from his suggestions and criticism. If the present work exhibits any clarity in its method of presentment, it is due largely to this constructive and pervading influence.

Off Cape Finisterre, September, 11, 1950.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Shona dialect-groups are referred to according to the following abbreviations:

The Zezuru dialect-group as	Ze.,	
the Karanga " "	as	Ka. ,
the Manyika " "	as	Ma.,
the Korekore " "	as	Ko.,
the Kalanga " "	as	Kl.

Individual dialects are referred to according to their full names, e.g. Govera, Mari etc.

I have referred to the following languages in abbreviated form:

Afrikaans as Afrik.

English as Eng.

Ndebele as Nd.

Nguni as Ng.

Portuguese as Port.

A figure in brackets following a substantive indicates the noun class to which the foregoing substantive belongs; e.g. munhu (1) . The figure (1) indicates that munhu (Person) belongs to the 1st noun class.

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PART 1

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

1. The first two chapters of this work are concerned with the sounds which occur in the dialects under study and with the sound-changes which some of these sounds undergo or of which they are the products. The chapter on the phonetics gives the sounds of Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika in barest outline. It also serves to introduce the orthography used throughout the work. A fuller treatment of the sounds was not considered necessary in view of the exhaustive treatment they have already received in Professor Doke's Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics.¹ Most of the material discussed in the second chapter, under the aspect of sound-change, will also be found in the same work, though here some new material has been added and further processes of sound-change discussed.

1. The University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1931.

What is now required is a systematic study into the tonal dimension of Shona sounds so that the phonemes may be distinguished into their tonemes and the tonological changes distinguished within the phonological. The tonal dimension is also missing from the morphology, though tonal evidence has been adduced in a few places where the purely phonetic data could not provide the necessary clues. Lacking the tonal treatment, the present work is obviously incomplete, if only because much of the morphology will remain half-understood until the tonal gap is filled in.

CHAPTER I

P H O N E T I C S¹ -----

2. The sounds in Central Shona may be divided into the vowels and vowel combinations, the semi-vowels, the consonants, the consonant combinations and the consonant-semi-vowel combinations. They will be treated in this order.

3. I. The vowels.

There are five vowels in Shona, 1) two high vowels, one forward and one back, 2) two medium vowels, one forward and one back, and 3) one low vowel. They are represented on the following chart.²

Front
(1)

i o

(2) e

(3)

(4) a

Back

(8) u

(7) o

ɔ

(6)

(5)

1. Professor Doke has dealt very fully with the phonetics of all the dialect groups of Shona in A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics, University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg. 1931 pp. 298.
A somewhat shorter account is his Outline of Shona Phonetics, pp. 37-75 in the Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects presented to the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia in 1931. pp. 156.
Cf. also Lesson 1, Orthography and Pronunciation by Rev. B.H. Barnes in O'Neill, p.1.
Phonetic script is used in this section to represent the sounds and to transcribe the examples in which they occur. The corresponding symbols in the current orthography are given in brackets.

2. Taken from Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 44.

4. The high vowels.

The high vowels are i (i) and u (u). Both the high forward vowel i and the high back vowel u are pronounced with somewhat lower tongue positions than those found in the case of cardinal vowels 1 and 8 respectively. Vowel i has a medium lip-spreading and vowel u medium lip-rounding.

e.g. ini (ini) (1)

uku (uku) (this) Demonstrative qualificative, class 15.

5. The medium vowels.

The medium vowels are e (e) and o (o). These are found with tongue position between cardinal vowels 2 and 3 in the case of e, and between cardinal vowels 7 and 6 in the case of o.

e.g. here? (here?) (eh ?)

gomo (gomo) (hill)

6. The low vowel.

The low vowel is a (a). Its tongue position is between cardinal vowels 4 and 5, being much nearer to the former than the latter.

e.g. aya (aya) (these) Demonstrative qualificative, class 2.

Vowel a has almost a neutral lip position.

7. II. The vowel combinations.

In Shona, vowels are commonly juxtaposed.

e.g. naije (naiye) (he also)

-taura (taura) (speak)

kuambuka (kuambuka) (to ford)

kuera (kuera) (to be sacred)

kuita (kuita) (to do)

kuoma (kuoma) (to get hard)

kuumba (kuumba) (to mould)

-revei? (revei?) (say what?)

8. But with some speakers, a very light semi-vowel may be heard between vowels, the palatal j (y) before

a, i and e, the labio-velar w (w) before u and o.

e.g. kujambuka (kuyambuka) (to ford)

-reɓejɪ? (reveyi?) (say what?)

kujɛra (kuyera) (to be sacred)

-tawura (-tawura) (speak)

kuwɔma (kuwoma) (to get hard)

These intrusive semi-vowels are irregularly shown in the current orthography.

9. Another alternative to juxtaposition is the diphthong in the case of the vowel combinations ai (ai) and ou (ou)

e.g. maɪ (mai) (mother). Cp. alternatives: mai; majɪ

mhoʊ (mhou) (ostrich) mhoʊ; mhowu

Diphthongs in Shona appear to be always falling, the more sonorous vowel coming first.

10. A double vowel, viz. a vowel combination of two identical vowels, has an alternative in the long vowel.

e.g. ndaa kuɛnda (ndaa kuenda) or nda: kuɛnda (ndaa kuenda)
cp.ndava kuɛnda (I am going)

-teɛrɛra (teerera) (obey) or -tɛ:rɛra (teerera)

Long vowels are often the result of the elision of the semi-vowel β (v) in Ze.

cp. -reɛtɛka (-reveteka) (speak) and -reβɛtɛka (-reveteka)

11. III. The semi-vowels.

There are three semi-vowels in Shona, the palatal, the labio-velar and the labio-dental.

12. The palatal semi-vowel.

The palatal semi-vowel j (y) is pronounced very lightly and "its presence when it acts as an intervocalic semivowel, especially before the vowel i, is scarcely perceptible".¹

e.g. -uja (-uya) (come)

aja (aya) (these) Demonstrative qualificative,
class 6.

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics, para.193.

13. The labio-velar semi-vowel.

The labio-velar semi-vowel w (w) is also very lightly pronounced. In Ma. it corresponds to Ka. v (v) and Ze. β (v).

e.g. kuwa (kuwa) (to fall)

wanhu (wanhu) Ma. (people)

14. The labio-dental semi-vowel.

The labio-dental semi-vowel β (v) is a loose, frictionless variety of the labio-dental fricative v, but it is not related phonemically to it. Some speakers tend to give β a slight friction, but this is very different from the heavy friction heard in the consonant.

In Ze. β corresponds to Ka. v and Ma. w.

e.g. βanhu (wanhu) Ze. (people)

15. IV. The consonants.

The consonants in Central Shona may be divided into the plain consonants, viz. those of single articulation, and the compound, viz. those with double articulation.

16. (a) The plain consonants.

The plain consonants include the explosives, the fricatives, the rolled and lateral consonants, and the nasals.

17. 1) The explosives.

Explosives in Central Shona are produced at four positions, the bilabial, the supradental,¹ the prepalatal² and the velar. They are found both voiceless and voiced.

The voiceless explosives are p (p), t (t) and k (k).

They are accompanied with noticeable, but not heavy,

1. Some speakers approach the dental position in these sounds, others the alveolar. The same is the case with the fricatives s and z and the nasal n.

2. The prepalatal explosives are found only in combination with their homorganic fricatives, viz. as tʃ and dʒ, written c and j in the current orthography.

aspiration which is not recorded here. In Ma. an aspirated voiceless velar, the consonant combination kh (kh), is phonemically distinct from k, the slightly aspirated.

e.g. -pa (-pa) (give)

-ti (-ti) (say)

ɖʒɛtʃa (jeca) (sand)

aka (aka) (this) Demonstrative qualificative,
class 13.

The voiced explosives are b (b), d (d), ɖ, and g (g).

These sounds are fully voiced.

e.g. mubɛmɛ (mubemhe) (donkey)

dibu (dibu) (noose trap)

ɖʒɛtʃa (jeca) (sand)

gomo (gomo) (hill)

18. 2) The fricatives.

The fricatives in Central Shona are produced at seven positions, the bilabial, the labio-dental, the supradental, the prepalatal, the palatal, the prevelar and the glottal. With the exception of the bilabial fricative, these are all found voiceless and voiced.

The voiceless fricatives are:

labio-dental	f (f);	e.g. -fa (-fa) (die)
supradental	s (s) ;	-sara (-sara) (remain)
prepalatal	ʃ (sh);	1/ɛ (ishe) (chief)
palatal	ç ¹ ;	-ɬɕa (-tya) Ka. (fear)
prevelar	x (x) ² ;	-rasxwa (-raswa) (be thrown away)
glottal	h (h) ³ ;	khamba (khamba) Ma. (leopard)

The voiced fricatives are:

bilabial	ɸ (ɸ) ;	e.g. -ɸa (-ɸa) Ka. (become)
labio-dental	v (v);	ivu (ivu) (soil)
supradental	z (z) ;	zizi (zizi) (owl)
prepalatal	ʒ (zh);	ʒiʒa (zhizha) (rainy season)
palatal	ɟ ¹ ;	-ɬɟa (-dya) Ka. and Ma. (eat)
prevelar	ɣ (g) ² ;	-veɟɣwa (-vezwa) (be carved)
glottal	ɦ (h) ;	ɦama (hama) (relative)

1. These sounds occur only in combinations, viz. Ka. (Govera) -ɬɕa (fear), -ɬɟa (eat); Ma. (Unyama) -tɕa (fear), -ɬɟa (eat). There are no exact corresponding symbols in the current orthography for these fricatives. The digraphs -tya and -dya are used throughout Shona to represent the words 'eat' and 'fear' whatever their phonetic form.
2. These sounds are not always indicated in the orthography. ɰ is indicated by x in Ka. when occurring initially in a consonant-semi-vowel, e.g. xwanda (basket). Both fricatives are indicated by x and g when occurring after p and b respectively; e.g. -tapxa (phon. - tapɰa) (be captured); -robga (phon. -robɰa) Ka. (be beaten).
3. In the dialects under study this sound occurs only in combination with k, forming kh. But note that in Ko. it occurs in a variant of tu-, the prefix of class 12, in the form hu-. Also in the combination hw- as a variant of ɰw-. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, para.161.

19. Of these sounds, the voiced bilabial fricative *v* is found only in Ka., the voiceless glottal fricative *h*, as pronounced as this, only in Ma. as the aspiration of the velar explosive, viz. *kh*. The prevelars, voiceless and voiced, viz. *x* and *ɣ*, occur only in consonant or consonant-semi-vowel combinations. In Ka., but not elsewhere, *x* may occur alone with the semi-vowel, this combination corresponding to the Ze. *tskw* or *tsɤw*, *skw* or *sɤw*, *tkw* or *tɤw*.¹

e.g. Ka. *muxwi* (*muxwi*) (stamper) cp. Ze. *mutskwi*/*mutɤwi*
(*Mutswi*)

xwiza (*xwiza*) (giraffe) Ze. *skwiza*/*sɤwiza*
(*swiza*)

-ɓaxwa (*-ɓaxwa*) (be caught) Ze. *-ɓatkwa*/*-ɓatɤwa*
(*-ɓatwa*)

The palatal fricatives, both voiceless and voiced, viz. *ç* and *ʝ*, occur only in combination with the voiceless and voiced flapped lateral, and the supradental voiceless explosive as in the examples.

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par.233.

20. 3) The rolled consonant.

The rolled consonant, r' (r), is an alveolar trill. In Ka., the flapped lateral replaces r before the vowel i, and sometimes before e.

- e.g. -rira (-rira) (sound)
duki (duri) Ka. (mortar)
cp. duri (duri) Ze. Ma. (mortar)
-lewa (-reva) Ka. (say)
cp. -reβa (-reva) Ze. (say)

21. 4) The laterals.

In Ka., the flapped lateral l (r) appears before the vowel i, and sometimes before vowel e, instead of the more usual r. It is also found in certain Ka. and Ma. dialects, viz. Jena, Duma, Govera in Ka., and Unyama in Ma., in combination with the voiced palatal fricative j.

- e.g. -lja (-dya) (eat)

A voiceless form of this lateral is found in Govera in combination with the voiceless palatal fricative c.

- e.g. -l̥ca (-tya) (fear)

Both voiceless and voiced flapped laterals are alveolar.

22. The prepalatal fricative laterals, both voiceless and voiced, viz. tʃ and dʒ ,¹ occur both in Ka. e.g. (Mari) and Ma. (e.g. Guta), in which latter case they are found in combination with the palatal semi-vowel.

- e.g. Ka. -tʃa (-tya) (fear)
-dʒa (-dya) (eat)
Ma. -tʃa (-tya) (fear)
-dʒa (-dya) (eat)

1. There is no exact equivalent to these sounds in the current orthography, but the combinations in which they occur are represented by ty and dy respectively.

23. 5) The nasals.

The nasals in Central Shona are produced at four positions, the bilabial, the supradental, the prepalatal and the velar. These are m (m), n (n), ɱ (ny) and ŋ (ŋ).

e.g. mai (mai) (mother)

-na (-na) (rain)

ɱika (nyika) (land)

inga (inga) (chap on the hand)

The nasal m may become syllabic as the result of the elision of vowel u in the prefix mu- (classes 1 and 3) when this is in an unstressed position and occurs before bilabial and supradental consonants.¹

e.g. mɱɱɱɱɱɱɱɱɱɱ (muperekedzi) (leader)

pamsɔɔɔɔ (pamusoro) (on the head, on top)

In Ka. and Ze. ɱ is produced without the centre of the tongue being in complete contact with the palate so that a slight rarefaction may be produced resulting in a very slight click.² Both bilabial and supradental nasals are aspirated, consonant combinations mɱ (mh) and nɱ (nh) being formed.

1. cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 88

2. Cf. Doke, op. cit. 95.

24. Chart of plain consonants.¹

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Supra-dental	Alveolar	Prepalatal	Palatal	Pre-velar	Velar	Glottal
Explosive	p		t		(t̥)			k	
	b		d		(d̥)			g	
Fricative		f	s		ʃ	(ç)	(x)		(h)
	v	v	z		ʒ	(ʝ)	(ɣ)		ɦ
Rolled				r					
Lateral				(l̥)	ɭ				
				ɭ	ɭ				
Nasal	m		n		ɲ			ŋ	

25. b) The compound consonants.

Compound consonants are produced with articulation performed simultaneously at more than one point. In Central Shona such consonants are the labialized and implosive consonants.

26. 1) The labialized consonants.

The alveolar-labialized consonants ɕ (ɕ) and ʒ (ʒ) are the voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives pronounced with simultaneous lip-rounding.

e.g. -ɕika (-ɕika) (arrive)
-zara (-zara) (give birth)

Other labialized consonants are not found save in combinations with ɕ and ʒ. These are the labialized voiceless alveolar explosive ɕ̥ (t̥), the labialized voiced alveolar explosive ɕ̥ (d̥) and the labialized alveolar nasal ɲ̥ (n̥). Of these sounds ɕ̥ occurs in combination with s, ɕ̥ and ɲ̥ in combination with z.

e.g. ɕ̥simbo (t̥simbo) (stick)
ɕ̥za (idza) (new) Adjectival qualificative class 5.
ɲ̥zimbo (nzimbo) (place)

1. Consonants indicated in brackets are found only in combinations with other sounds.

27. "In most of the Manyika dialects, ... the lip-rounding is so extreme with the labialized fricatives, that the acoustic effect of the explosive elements of these affricates is far more that of p and b than that of t and d, and to indicate this extreme labialization we use the symbols β and β_z , forming the affricates $\beta\varsigma$ and $\beta_z\varsigma$."¹ Similarly, in these dialects, the nasal heard in combination with z is more m than n. This combination is written $m_z\varsigma$. In the orthography, these compounds occurring initially are written ps, bz and mz.

e.g. - $\beta\varsigma a$ (-psa) (burn)
 - $\beta_z\varsigma inya$ (bzinya) (press)
 - $m_z\varsigma enga$ (-mzenga) (dodge)

28. Other labialized consonants occurring in combination with s and z are the prevelar fricatives in consonant-semi-vowel combinations. These are χ and χ_z . They are not indicated in the current orthography.

e.g. - $\tau a\chi wa$ (-ta χ wa) (be mounted)
 - $kwe\chi_z wa$ (-kwe χ_z wa) (be drawn)

29. 2) The implosive consonants.

The bilabial implosive β (β) and the alveolar implosive d (d) are pronounced with simultaneous articulation at the glottis, which is all but closed,² and at the lips (in the case of β) or at the alveolus (in the case of d).

e.g. $\beta a\beta a$ ($\beta a\beta a$) (father)
 - $d a d a$ (-dada) (be conceited)

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 174.

2. Doke, op. cit., par. 76 says that this closure takes place below the larynx. But in this case it is difficult to see what contribution the downward movement of the larynx makes to the rarefaction within the oral chamber, nor is it plain how, this being so, rarefaction can take place at all.

V. The consonant combinations.

30. a) Combinations of plain consonants.

In this section we will deal with the combinations of plain consonants in this order: 1) purely oral combinations;
2) purely nasal combinations;
3) nasal-oral combinations.

31. 1) Purely oral combinations:

(i) of fully homorganic consonants.

supradental	ts (ts):	e.g. tsime (tsime) (well)
	dz (dz):	-dzima (-dzima) (extinguish)
prepalatal	tʃ (c) :	ɖʒetʃa (jeca) (sand)
	ɖʒ (j) :	ɖʒetʃa (jeca) (sand)

(ii) of semi-homorganic consonants.

bilabial-	pf (pf):	e.g. pfumo (pfumo) (spear)
labio-dental	bv (bv):	ibvi (ibvi) (knee)
velar-glottal	kh (kh):	khamba (khamba) Ma. (leopard)

(iii) of heterorganic consonants.

bilabial- velar	pk (px):	e.g. pkere (pxere) Ze. (small child)
	bg (bg):	ibge (ibge) Ze. (stone)
bilabial- prevelar	px (px):	pxa (pxa) Ka. (sweet-reed) ipxa (ipxa) Ma. (sweet-reed)
	bɣ (bg):	ibɣe (ibge) Ma. (stone) bɣe (bge) Ka. (stone)
supradental- palatal	tɕ (ty):	-tɕa (-tya) Ma. (fear)
supradental- velar	sk (sk):	-skoro (-skoro) Ze. (all day) ¹
alveolar- palatal	tɕ (ty):	-tɕa (-tya) Ka. (fear)
	tɕ (dy):	-tɕa (-dya) Ka. (eat)
prepalatal- velar	tʃk (ty):	-tʃka (-tya) Ze. (fear)
	ɖʒg (dy):	-ɖʒga (-dya) Ze. (eat)
prepalatal- prevelar	ɖʒɣ (dy):	-ɖʒɣa (-dya) Mbire of Ze. (eat)

32. 2) Purely nasal combinations:

(i) of heterorganic consonants.

bilabial- velar	mɲ (mɲ):	e.g. mɲana (mɲana) Ze. (child)
prepalatal- velar	pɲ (ɲɲ):	deɲga (deɲnya) Ze. (skull)

1. -skoro - results from -skwero- (deficient verb -swera (pass the day) and contracted infinitive prefix) by delabialization of we.

33 3) Nasal oral combinations:

- nasal + single oral:

(i) fully homorganic.

bilabial	mb (mb):	e.g. -tamba (-tamba) (play)
supradental	nd (nd):	-tanda (-tanda) (chase)
	nz (nz):	-wanza (-wanza) (do often)
velar	ng (ng):	-tanga (-tanga) (begin)

(ii) semi-homorganic.

bilabial- labio-dental	mv (mv):	e.g. mvura (mvura) (water)
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(iii) heterorganic.

bilabial- glottal	m̥ (mh):	e.g. m̥huka (mhuka) (animal)
supradental- glottal	n̥ (nh):	n̥huka (nhuka) (pangolin)

- nasal + oral combination:

(i) nasal + first element of oral combination
fully homorganic.

bilabial	mbg (mbg):	e.g. imbga (imbga) Ze. (dog)
	mbɣ (mbg):	-tambɣa (-tambga) (be played)
prepalatal	p̪ɔ̃ (nj):	-ʒip̪ɔ̃ɔ̃ (-zhinjɪ) (many) Adjectival stem.

34. b) Combinations of compound consonants.

In this section we will deal with the combinations of
compound consonants in this order: 1) purely oral combinations;
2) nasal-oral combinations.

35. 1) Purely oral combinations:

(i) of fully homorganic consonants.

alveolar	ts (ts):	e.g. tsimbɔ̃ (tsimbo) (stick)
	dz (dz):	-dzinya (-dzinya) (press)

(ii) of heterorganic consonants.

bilabial- alveolar	ps (ps):	e.g. -psa (-psa) Ma. (burn)
	bz (bz):	-bzinya (-bzinya) Ma. (press)

36. 2) Nasal-oral combinations:

(i) of fully homorganic consonants.

alveolar nz (nz): e.g. nzimbo (nzimbo) (place)

(ii) of heterorganic consonants.

bilabial- mɛ (mɛ): e.g. -mɛnga (-mɛnga) Ma. (dodge)
alveolar

VI. The consonant-semi-vowel combinations.

37. a). Combinations of plain consonants and semi-vowels.

In this section we will deal with the combinations in the following order: 1) orals + semivowel:

2) nasals + semivowel:

3) nasal-oral combinations + semi-vowel.

38. 1) Orals + semi-vowel.

- single oral + semi-vowel w;

[illegible]

"With dental, alveolar and prepalatal consonants w occurs in the Manyika group."²

e.g. tw (tw): -batwa (-batwa) (be caught)

sw (sw): -raswa (-raswa) (be thrown away)

ſw (shw): -ſuſwa (-shushwa) (be persecuted)

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prevelar-      xw (xw):      xwanda (xwanda) Ka. (basket)
semi-vowel
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With velar and glottal consonants w occurs in all groups.

velar-semi- kw (kw): -kwira (-kwira) (climb)
vowel

gw (gw): -regwa (-regwa) (be left)

glottal-semi-
vowel hw (hw): hwahwa (hwahwa) (beer)

1. w indicates the semi-vowel with faucal resonance.

2. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par.228. Note that in Ko. the combinations of type bilabial + semi-vowel are regular.

39. 2) Nasals + semi-vowel.

- single nasal + semi-vowel w: (in Manyika)

bilabial-semi-vowel	mw (mɿ):	e.g. mwana (mɿana) (child)
supradental-semi-vowel	nw (nɿ):	-danwa (-dandwa) (be called)
prepalatal-semi-vowel	ɸw (nyw):	-mapwa (-manywa) (be run)
velar-semi-vowel	ŋw (ŋɿ):	-oŋwa (-oŋwa) (be growled)

The last combination occurs in all groups.

-single nasal + semi-vowel j (y): (in Karanga)

supradental-semi-vowel	nj (ny):	e.g. -njara (-nyara) (be tired)
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-nasal combination + semi-vowel w: (in Zezuru)

ɸŋw (nyw):	e.g. -mapŋwa (-manywa) (be run)
ŋŋw (nw):	-danŋwa (-danwa) (be called)

40. 3) Nasal-oral combinations + semi-vowel.

-nasal + single oral with semi-vowel:

ndw (ndw):	e.g. -tandwa (-tandwa) Ma. (be chased)
nzw (nzw):	-nzwa (-nzwa) Ma. (hear)
ŋgw (ŋgw):	-tangwa (-tangwa) (be begun)

- nasal + oral compound with semi-vowel:

ndɿw (ndw):	e.g. -tandɿwa (-tandwa) Ze. Ka. (be chased)
nzɿw (nzw):	-nzɿwa (-nzwa) Ze. (hear)
nzyw (nzw):	-nzywa (-nzwa) Ka. (hear)
ɸɗɿw (njw):	ɸɗɿwanga (njwanga) Ze. (species of mouse) ¹

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 227.

CHAPTER II

P H O N O L O G Y¹

44. The last chapter was devoted to an exposition of the sounds which occur in the dialects under study. Some of these sounds may undergo change in certain combinations. Several may be the result of sound change. It is with the subject of sound change that the present chapter is concerned, and the terms phonology and phonological employed in this study must be understood to refer only to such sound changes.

45. In such a study we are concerned mainly with three things:

- 1) the nature of the sounds which undergo change;
- 2) the nature of the sounds which are the products of the changes;
- 3) the conditions under which change takes place and the nature of the sounds that are its cause.

With regard to the nature of the sounds that change, the material is divided into three main divisions:

- A) changes involving vowels;
- B) changes involving semi-vowels;
- C) changes involving consonants.

With regard to the nature of the sounds which are the product of change, it is under the aspect of product or result that the types of sound change are grouped and labelled. Thus, for example, the term nasalization is applied to the sound-change which results in the formation of a nasal, not to the change or changes caused by a nasal. With regard to the conditions under which the change takes place, in some cases

1. In this chapter phonetic script is not used save where the current orthography is inadequate to transcribe the sound change in question. In descriptions of sound change, much of the terminology of Part II which deals with the morphology has had to be anticipated.

the circumstances attendant upon the changes throw light upon the nature of the change itself and its cause.

A) Changes involving vowels.

46. 1) Elision.¹

Elision is that sound change which results in the disappearance of a sound.

Both patent and latent vowels may be elided in Shona. Elision may be final - the elision of the final vowel of the first of two words or formatives coming together - or initial - the elision of the first vowel of the second of two words or formatives coming together.

a/ Cases of final elision.

47. 1) The vowel in the noun prefixes of classes 2, 6 (very occasionally) and 13 (viz. vowel a); of classes 4 (very occasionally), 7, 8, 19 and 21 (viz. vowel i) and (very occasionally) of class 3 (viz. vowel u) is elided when joined to non-deverbative vowel-commencing noun stems.

e.g. veni (strangers) (2) < va- + -eni
mano (plans) (6) < ma- + -ano
kana² (small child) (13) < ka- + -ana
moto (fires) (4) < mi- + -oto
curu (antheap) (7) < ci- + -uru
zuru (antheaps) (8) < zi- + -uru
šana (small child) < si- + -ana
Mari (19)
zoto (large fire- < zi- + -oto
place) (21)
moyo (heart) (3) < mu- + -oyo

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 395.

2. The form ka:na also occurs.

48. 11) The vowel in the noun prefixes of classes 5, 9 and 10 is elided. The vowel of prefixes 9 and 10 may have been absorbed into the consonant ny which is the form taken by these prefixes before certain vowel-commencing stems.

e.g. *ḡanga* (knife) (5) < [ri-] + -panga
mḡuka (animal) (9) < ni- + -puka
nyoka (snake) (9) < ni- + -oka

49. 111) In the formation of the diminutive by suffix, the final vowel of a noun may be elided.

e.g. *mbudzana* (small goat) (9) < *mbudzi* (goat) (9) + -ana
mukomana (boy) (1) < *mukoma* (elder sibling of same sex) + -ana

b/ Cases of initial elision.

50. iv. The initial vowel of absolute pronouns is elided in the following cases:

- 1) when absolute pronouns function as copulative stems;
- 2) when absolute pronouns of the 3rd. person function as possessive stems, as agentive, instrumental or conjunctive adverbial stems, or as stems of adverbials of manner;¹
- 3) when absolute pronouns of the 2nd person are enclitic to a noun in an interjective compound.

e.g. *ndini* (it is I) < *ndi-* + *ini* (I)
ndiye (it is he) < *ndi* + *ie* (he)

kwaye (of him) < *kwa-* (possessive concord class 15) + *ie*

naye (with him) < *na-* + *ie*
saye (like him) < *sa-* + *ie*

washe mi! (O you chiefs!) < *washe* + *imi*
mḡana we! (O you child!) < *mḡana* + *iwe*

51. v) The initial vowel of demonstrative qualificatives, 1st. and 2nd. positions, is elided when the demonstrative is used in an enclitic position.

e.g. *mḡanayu* (this child) < *mḡana* + *uyu*
iyeyu (this very one) < *ie* + *uyu*
uyuyu (this same one) < *uyu* + *uyu*

1. Forms like caie (of him), naie, saie, in which both of the originally juxtaposed vowels are retained, are also found, and such latter forms are actually more frequent than the cases in which elision occurs, examples of which are quoted above.

-bviramo (come out from in there) < -bvira + umo
 wanguyu (this one of mine) < wangu + uyu

The triplicated form of the demonstrative appears in an unenclitic position with elided initial vowel.

cigaro cicici (this very same chair)

52. vi) Latent initial vowels cease to exercise phonological influence in the following cases:

- 1) in personifications;
- 2) in nouns and qualificative pronouns which are stems of conjunctive adverbials in negative personal copulative constructions;
- 3) in compound nouns.

e.g. 1) Tsuro naHamba (Hare and Tortoise) cp. tsuro nehamba
 (a hare and a tortoise)

2) handinašanga (I have no knife)¹ cp. ndinešanga (I have a knife)

3) mjanayi? (a child of what sex) cp. (i)yi ?(what?)
 bganya-shanga (last heavy rains) Ka.
 cp. -pxanye-shanga
 (crush stalks) Ka.

In nouns used with the compound-noun formative muzina- (owner of), the latent initial vowel may, seemingly, either exercise phonological influence or not.

cp. muzinadoro) (owner of the beer) cp. (i)doro (beer)
 muzinedoro)

53. vii) Vowel u of the noun prefixes of classes 1 and 3 is elided in quick speech in Zezuru when it occurs before bilabial or supradental consonants.

e.g. msoro (Head) cp. musoro
mpfumi (rich person) cp. mupfumi

1. The rules, if any, which govern the exercise, or lack of exercise, of the phonological influence of the latent initial vowel in such cases as these are not clear. Neither Louw (p.68) nor Buck (p.xxxvi) record any instances of the lack of this phonological influence in Ka. or Ma. O'Neil (p.141), with whom I am inclined to agree, states that the latent initial vowel ceases to exercise phonological influence when possession is emphatically denied.

viz. meno (teeth) < ma- + -ino¹
 meso (eyes) < ma- + -iso

56. (b) Coalescence of two patent vowels with elision of an intervening consonant.

vi) This coalescence frequently takes place between the terminative of a deficient verb² and the vowel u of a following infinitive complement, the consonant k of the infinitive prefix being elided.

e.g. anouya (he comes) < ana + kuuya
 haawanzouya (he does not come frequently) < haawanze + kuuya. Ze.
 kuti andobata (so that he may go and catch) < aende + kubata

vii) This is probably the explanation of the negative participial present formative -so-. Vowel a of the negative formative -sa- has coalesced with the u of a succeeding infinitive in the same way, with elision of the intervening k.

e.g. Inyama yaasoda (It is the meat which he does not eat)
 < Inyama yaasa + kuda
 Ndanga ndisodya (I was not eating)
 < Ndanga ndisa + kudya

The form so: or soo, with lengthened or double o, may be derived as follow:

e.g. Tiri vanhuwo tiscooruma³ (We are people also who do not bite)
 < Tiri vanhuwo tisa + kuva + ~~ku-~~ kuruma,

where -soo- < -sa + kuva + ku-,

both k and u being elided, with a doubled or lengthened o being formed.

-
1. In Karombe of Ma. these nouns are found as maso (eyes) and manyo (teeth). Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 19.
 2. In Ze. this terminative may be either a or e (subjunctive or negative). In Ka. and Ma. in negative forms incorporating a deficient verb of this type, the negative terminative (which is -i) appears at the end of the complement, the verbal character of these deficient verbs being lost sight of, and they being regarded as mere verbal formatives.
 e.g. haazouuyi (he will not come) Ka.
 3. Marconnès, par. 301.

57. c) Coalescence of a patent and a latent vowel.

Coalescence of a patent vowel, which is always a, and a latent vowel takes place in Ze. and Ka.

viii) The vowel a of the possessive concords, and of the adverbial formatives na- and sa-, coalesces with the latent initial vowels of nouns which function as possessive or adverbial stems. The same coalescence takes place between the vowel a in these concords and formatives, and the vowels inherent in the concords of certain qualificative pronouns.¹

e.g. -coalescence of a and latent initial i:

wenyoka (of the snake) < wa- + (i) nyoka
 nenyoka (with the snake) < na- + (i) nyoka
 senyoka (like a snake) < sa- + (i) nyoka

necangu (with mine (7)) < na- + (i) cangu

-coalescence of a and latent initial u:

womjana (of the child) < wa- + (u) mjana
 nomjana (with the child) < na- + (u) mjana
 somjana (like the child) < sa- + (u) mjana

sowangu (like mine (1)) < sa- + (u) wangu

-coalescence of a and latent initial a:

wavana (of the children) < wa- + (a) vana
 navana (by the children) < na- + (a) vana
 savana (like children) < sa- + (a) vana

wavangu (of mine (2)) < wa- + (a) vangu

ix) In Ka., in quick speech, coalescence takes place between terminative a of a verb stem and the latent initial vowel of a succeeding nominal object or extension.

e.g. kuziviso-muravi (to inform the reader)

< kuzivisa + (u) muravi

Meso akazare-misodzi kuvone-ciro cakadeya (The eyes filled with tears to see a thing like that).

< Meso akazara + (i) misodzi kuvona + (i) ciro cakadeya.

1. But when these concords and formatives are used with demonstrative qualificative pronouns, assimilation, not coalescence takes place, vowel a being assimilated to o before u, and to e before i. Cf. Assimilation. Cf. also P.346, 350-356.

(x) In all dialect groups, coalescence takes place between terminative a of a verb stem and the latent initial vowel of the noun (i)yɪ ? (what ?) (in Ma. (i)nyɪ ?), when used as object.

e.g. -bvunzeyɪ ? (ask what ?) < -bvunza + (i)yɪ ?

58. 3) Semivocalization.

This is the process whereby a vowel is changed into a semi-vowel. The semi-vowels which result from this process are the labio-velar w and the palatal y.

i) In the formation of the past and present exclusive subject concords, the vowel u in the basic concords of the 2nd. person singular and of the 3rd. person, classes 1 (in Ka. and Ma.), 3, 11, 12, 14 (in Ze. and Ma.), 15 and 17 becomes w. The vowel i which is the basic concord of class 9 becomes y in these derived concords.

e.g. wauya (you came)	u- + a > wa-
yauya (it came)	i- + a > ya-
rwozara (it now gets full)	ru- + o > rwo ¹
yocema (now it cries)	i- + o > yo-

ii) The same process takes place in the formation of the possessive concords of these classes, identical with the past subject concords of the 3rd. person; and also in the formation of the quantitative concords of these classes, identical with the exclusive concords.

rwangu (mine -11)	ru- + a > rwa- ¹
rwose (all - 11)	ru- + o > rwo- ¹
yangu (mine - 9)	i- + a > ya-
yose (all - 9)	i- + o > yo-

iii) Vowel u in the noun prefixes of classes 11, 13 and 14 (in Ze. and Ma.) becomes w before non-deverbativ vowel-commencing stems. In some forms of Ma., e.g. Unyama, this happens also with vowel u in the prefix of classes 1 and 3, whereas in Ze. and Ka. in these classes, the semi-vowel with nasal resonance often appears instead. In other cases, the semi-vowel is replaced by a consonant. Cf. consonantalization.

1. In these cases a velar consonant is evolved between the consonant of the concord and the semi-vowel.

e.g. rwana (thin child) < ru- + -ana
 twana (small children) < tu- + -ana
 hwana (childhood) < hu- + -ana
 mwana (child) Ma. < mu- + -ana
 mwoyo (heart) Ma. < mu- + -oyo

iv) In the formation of diminutives by suffix, final u and i may become w and y respectively.

e.g. mbewana (young seed) < mbeu + -ana
 hwayana (lamb) < hwai + -ana

59. 4) Consonantalization.

This is a process whereby a vowel or semi-vowel is changed into a consonant. The consonants in question here are chiefly velars or prevelars.

1) In Ze. and Ka. the vowel u in the prefixes of classes 1 and 3, and the vowel i in the prefix of class 4, are changed into the velar nasal before a non-deverbative vowel-commencing stem.

e.g. mjana (child) < mu- + -ana
 mjaka (year) < mu- + -aka

In Ka. the vowel u in the prefix of class 14 becomes y, the prevelar voiced fricative, in the same circumstances.

e.g. bgana (small children) Mari < uu- + -ana

60. 5) Assimilation.

By this process a sound is made similar to a neighbouring sound. Assimilation is either progressive or retrogressive, depending on whether the assimilated sound occurs after or before the assimilating sound.

a) Progressive assimilation.

1) The initial vowel of many verbal derivative endings varies between i and e according to the nature of the final vowel of the verbal root. It is i when the final root vowel is a, i or u; it is e when the final root vowel is e or o.

The verbal species concerned are the passive, the neuter, the applied, the perfective, the long causative, the intensive and the extensive.

e.g. -sɔtira (hold for)	cp. -sɔtɔ (hold)
-sɔnerɔ (sew for)	-sɔnɔ (sew)

In the case of the perfective and the reduplicated intensive, the assimilation is multiple, more than one sound being assimilated.

e.g. -sɔtɪsɪsɔ (hold strongly)	cp. -sɔtɔ (hold)
-mɔnɛsɛsɔ (stir briskly)	-mɔnɔ (stir)

The following instances are also cases of multiple progressive assimilation. The long reversion ending has an initial vowel identical with the final root vowel, while the second vowel of the ending is u after final root vowels a, e, i and u, but is o after final root vowel o.

e.g. -nɔmɔnɔrɔ (unstick)	cp. -nɔmɔ (stick)
-pɛtɛnɔrɔ (unfold)	-pɛtɔ (fold)
-pɪŋɡɪnɔrɔ (open up)	-pɪŋɡɔ (close up)
-pɪfupunɔrɔ (call back a spirit)	-pɪfupɔ (propitiate a spirit)
-rɔwɔnɔrɔ (unwitch)	-rɔwɔ (bewitch)

In the case of the repetitive, the vowels of the ending are u after final root vowels a, e, i and u, but o after final root vowel o.

e.g. -fɔmburɔrɔ (walk a second time)	cp. -fɔmbɔ (walk)
-dzɔkɔrɔrɔ (do a second time)	-dzɔkɔ (return)

61. b) Retrogressive assimilation.

1) The vowel of the impersonal copulative formative ndi- becomes a, e or o before qualificative pronouns¹ with inherent vowels in their respective concords which are respectively a, i and u. The same happens to the vowel a of the possessive concord and the adverbial formatives na- and sa- when used with demonstrative qualificative pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. position as stems.

e.g. ndɔwɔŋɡu (it is mine)	cp. (u)wɔŋɡu (1)
ndɛɔŋɡu (it is mine)	(i)ɔŋɡu (7)
ndɔɔwɔŋɡu (it is mine)	(a)wɔŋɡu (2)

1. Except the adjectival qualificative pronoun, with which this copulative formative is not used.

nouyu (with this one (1))
neici (with this one (7))
naava (with these ones (2))

11) In Ze. the vowel o of the derived verbal formative -no- is sometimes changed to e before verb stems commencing in i- or e-.

e.g. tineenda (we go) no > ne
 ndineita (I do) no > ne

Doke reports the vowel of the same formative changing to e and a before object concords consisting of vowels i and a respectively.¹

tineida	(we want it)	no	>	ne
tinaada	(we want them)	no	>	na

In Ze. and Ka. the vowel o of all derived verbal
formatives, and of the exclusive subject concord, changes
to e before the verb -nge (seem, be). This assimilation
may be multiple.

e.g. Ko, minge mucamurovereyi? (Tell me, what will you
now beat him for?)
mo > me

Ndinezenge ndaenda (I will have gone) nozo > neze

111) Within verb stems.

In the case of a few verb stems in Ze. and Ka., a perfect is formed by changing terminative a to e. This change is followed by assimilation of vowel a within the stem to e.

e.g. -gere: perfect of -gara (stay)
 -gerwe: perfect passive of -gara (stay)
 -zere: perfect of -zara (become full)
 -vete: perfect of -vata (go to sleep)
 -rere: perfect of -rara (go to sleep)

There is one case of multiple retrogressive assimilation.

-nyerere: perfect of -nyarara (become silent)

The stem -mira does not undergo assimilation, forming perfect stem -mire.

Other cases of assimilation within verb stems are among the reversives.

e.g. -pfurunura (unthatch) assimilated from the
hypothetical form -pfirinura cp. -pfirira
(thatch)
-nyukura)
-nyikura) (take out of water) cp. -nyika (put
in water)

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 402 (11).

-kudu5ura (uncover) cp. -kwidi5ira (cover)
-pfudugura (uncover) -pfidigira (cover)

iv) The vowel of the relative concord of indirect relation is changed from a to o before relative predicates which are based on a present exclusive.

e.g. Inzwa zotoda kuita (Listen to what we now want to do)
 < za + toda

62. 5) Alternation.

By this process is meant the alternative appearance of vowels of different phonemes as equivalent variants in words or formatives.

1) In certain nouns of classes 7 and 8, the vowel of the prefix is alternately i or a.

e.g. cipungu / capungu (species of eagle)
cinduru / canduru (gall bladder)

11) The terminative of the verb stem -ua is alternatively a or e - seemingly in all forms of its conjugation.

e.g. (Ive murapi! (Become a doctor!))
(Iva murapi!

Ndaive) mufudzi wemombe (I used to be a cow-herd).
Ndaiva)

111) The terminative of deverbative nouns formed from the passive species is alternately ^{iv}a or 1.

e.g. muḡatwa / muḡatwi (captive) cp. -ḡatwa (be captured)

iv) In Ze. the terminative for the negative present is e, in Ka. and Ma. it is 1.

e.g. Handigone (I am not able) Ze.
Handigoni (I am not able) Ka. and Ma.

Similarly in Ze. the terminative for the positive potential is e, in Ka. and Ma. it is a.

e.g. Ndingatore (I can take) Ze.
Ndingatora (I can take) Ka. and Ma.

In Ze. and Ma. the terminative for the negative subjunctive present is e, in Ka. it is i.

e.g. (kuti) usauye ((that) you may not come) Ze.
(kuti) usivuyi ((that) you may not come) Ka.

There is a deficient copulative verb with alternative forms -nga or -nge. In Ka. and Ze. this verb is -nga in the recent and remote past, -nge in other tenses. In Ma. the verb is -nge in the past tenses mentioned and -nga in other forms. The same stem meaning 'seem' is -nge in Ze. and Ka., but -nga in Ma.

e.g. Ndakanga ndaenda (I had gone) Ze.
Ndakange ndaenda (I had gone) Ma.

Ndinenge ndaenda (I shall have gone) Ze.
Ndinonga ndaenda (I shall have gone) Ma.

vi) The terminative of the class 3 and 4 deverbative nouns derived from the applied species is o in Ze. and most Ma., but e in Ka. and a few Ma. dialects.

e.g. mufambiro (manner of walking) Ze.
mufambire (manner of walking) Ka.

vii) Ma. substitutes e for the vowels a and o of Ze. and Ka. in certain circumstances. Cf. Substitution.

63. 6) Gradation.

Gradation is a change of vowel for the purpose of grammatical inflection.

i) Ideophones are formed from verbs by changing terminative a to e.

e.g. tore (of taking)	-tora (take)
sare (of remaining)	cp. -sara (remain)
ende (of going)	-enda (go)

ii) Terminative a of the verb stem is changed to e in Ze. and to i in Ka. and Ma. in the negative present.

e.g. ndisingatore (I not taking) Ze.
ndisingatori (I not taking) Ka. and Ma.

iii) Terminative a of verb stems is changed to e in the subjective present.¹

e.g. (kuti) ndiuye (that I may come).

1. In Ka., the negative subjunctive present terminative is -i.

iv) In the formation of deverbative nouns, terminative -a of the verb stems is changed to -i for personal nouns and -o for impersonal.

e.g. munyori (writer)
mbato (pincers)

cp. -nyora (write)
-sata (catch)

v) In the formation of names from verbs, terminative -a may be changed to -e.

e.g. Wadye (a woman's name)
Uanamatopotore
(a diviner's name)

cp. wadya (you have eaten)
cp. matopotora (you have
mentioned everything)

64. 7) Lengthening.

By this process sounds are changed in duration from normal length to long.

1) Elision of the semi-vowel β in Ze. results in a lengthened or double vowel.

e.g. nda: kuenda) (I am going) cp. ndava kuenda Ka.
ndaa kuenda)

ii) The elision of the consonant of the basic stem of the absolute pronoun, when this serves as a copulative stem, results in a short form of this copulative with lengthened vowel o:. The vowel of the copulative formative itself is elided.

e.g. Ndo: mapadza ake (It is they his hoes; viz. ^{they are?} ~~It is~~ his hoes).

cp. the alternative long form,
ndiwo mapadza ake.

ini ndo: ^{lc.} kuenda (and I went)

cp. the alternative form:
ini ndiko kuenda.

iii) The final vowel of the demonstrative of 2nd position is lengthened in order to indicate relative distance. It is accompanied by heightened pitch as well.

e.g. uyo: (that (distant) one) (1)

65. 8) Epenthesis.

Epenthesis is the insertion in a word of a sound not originally belonging to it.

i) The vowel i is inserted before monosyllabic noun stems of classes 1a, 5, 9 and 10 in Ze. and Ma. when these stand alone.

e.g. ishe (chief) (1a)	Cp. Ka. she (chief) (1a)
ivu (soil) (5)	vu (soil) (5)
imbga (dog) (9)	mbga (dog) (9)
imbga (dogs) (10)	mbga (dogs) (10)

This vowel, in the case of classes 5, 9 and 10, coincides with the latent initial vowel (i).¹

ii) The vowel i is inserted before monosyllabic verb stems, in the imperative, both singular and plural. It may be inserted before monosyllabic deficient verbs with contracted infinitive complement.

e.g. ipa (give)	cp. -pa (give)
ipayi (give - ye)	
izondishanyira (come and visit me)	
cp. kuzoshayira (to come and visit)	

iii) Vowels are inserted in the formation of ideophonic verbs from natural cries.

e.g. -ngurutudza (growl - of a leopard)
cp. ngrr (growl of a leopard)

66. 9) Devoicing.

Devoicing is the substitution of a voiceless sound for a voiced one. Vowels are commonly devoiced in a final position "when the tone would, in careful pronunciation, be a very low one."²

e.g. Hongu (yes)

67. 10) Substitution.

In Ma., and increasingly in Ze., the vowel e is substituted for vowel a in all possessive concords, in the adverbial formatives na- and sa- (save where these concords or formatives are used with a class 1a noun or an absolute pronoun as stem) and in the instrumental and copulative formative nga-.

It is also substituted in these dialect groups for the

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 397.

2. Doke, op. cit. par. 53.

vowel o in the quantitative qualificative concord.

- e.g. wemgana (of the child) < wa- + (u)mjana cp.
womjana Ka.
nemjana (with the child) < na- + (u)mjana
cp. nomjana Ka.
semurume (like a man) < sa- + (u)murume
cp. somurume Ka.
ngebanga (by means of a knife) < nga- + (i)gbanga
cp. negbanga Ka.
ngewangu (it is mine) < nga- + wangu
cp. ndowangu Ka.
munhu wese (a whole person) cp. munhu wose Ka.
munhu wega (a person alone) cp. munhu woga Ka.

B) Changes involving semi-vowels.

68. 1) Elision.¹

1) The semi-vowel w which we may assume to have been formed in the formation of the past and present exclusive subject concords of the 2nd person plural and the 3rd person, class 18, has, in Ze. and Ka., been elided. In Ma. it is found consonantalized or with nasal resonance (see resonation) or as the plain semi-vowel.

- e.g. Mauraya mombe? (Have you killed the beast?)
Mouya here? (Are you coming now?)
cp. the basic subject concord, 2nd. person plural: mu-, and the semi-vowels which result in other persons and classes.

The semi-vowel y, which we may assume to have resulted from the formation of the past or present exclusive subject concords in all persons and classes in which the basic subject concord contains non-syllabic i, has, in every case, been elided.

- e.g. Dzauya here? (Have they come?)
cp. the basic subject concord, class 10: dzi-, and the semi-vowel which is formed in class 9.

11) The same elisions have taken place in the formation of the possessive concords in the classes mentioned, as well as in the formation of the exclusive concord in the persons and classes mentioned.

- e.g. dzangu (mine) (10) < dzi- + a + -ngu
dzose (all) (10) < dzi- + o + -se
mose (all you) 2nd. person < mu- + o + -se

1. Processes which have been described before are not newly defined.

111) Semi-vowel w has been elided in the following positions:

1) from the primitive pronominal possessive stem of the 3rd. person, class 1 in Ze. and Ma.

viz. -ke Ze. and Ma. cp. Ka. -kwe

2) from a variant form of the past indicative past subject concord, 3rd. person, class 1, in Ze.

viz. aenda) (he went)
waenda)

3) from a variant form of the relative concord of indirect relation agreeing with an antecedent of class 1 in Ze.

e.g. mukadzi wandaona)
andaona) (a woman whom I saw)

4) from variant forms of the indefinite past subject concords of classes 14 and 15.

via. hanzi)
hwanzi) (it was said)

kaziwa!)
kwaziwa!) (hail! lit. it has been come)

5) from the initial position in variant forms of certain verb stems in Ze., when followed by o or u.

e.g. -onda (get thin)	cp. -wonda Ka.
-oma (get hard)	-woma Ka.
-ombera (greet respectfully)	-wombera Ka.
-undura (pluck)	-wundura Ka.

iv) Semi-vowel y has been elided from the initial position in variant forms of certain verb stems in Ze. when followed by e or i, and, less frequently, when followed by a.

e.g. -ita (do)	cp. -yita Ma.
-edza (try)	-yedza Ma.
-ambuka (ford)	-yambuka Ma.

v) Semi-vowel β has been elided in Ze. from the initial position of certain verb stems when followed by o or u.

e.g. -ona (see)	cp. -uona Ka.
-uya (come)	-uyua Ka.

It is also elided in other positions.

e.g. -reeteka (speak)	cp. -reueteka Ka.
ruoko (arm)	ruuokø Ka.
-rewa (be spoken)	passive of -reua (speak)

All passives of verbs ending in -wa in Ze. show this.

69. 2) Consonantalization.

Semi-vowel w is consonantalized when preceded by bilabial consonants or consonant combinations. In all dialect groups the semi-vowel may remain after m as an alternative form, being accompanied by nasal resonance.

e.g. the passives: (phon.) -rapka Ze.)
-rapxa Ka.) (be treated)
rap + wa

-tambga Ze.)
-tambya Ka.) (be danced)
tamb + wa

-rumja Ze.)
-rumwa Ze.) (be bitten)
rum + wa

-rob_ya Ka. (be beaten)
rou + wa

70. 3) Alternation.

1) Demonstratives of classes 3 and 6, 1st. and 2nd. positions, show alternation, Ka. using mainly semi-vowel w, Ze. and Ma. using mainly semi-vowel y.

uyu (this) (3)	Ze. Ma.	uwu (this) (3)	Ka.
viz. uyo (that) (3)		uwo (that) (3)	
aya (these) (6)	Ze. Ma.	awa (these) (6)	Ka.
ayo (those) (6)		awo (these) (6)	

In compound forms consisting of absolute pronoun + enclitic demonstrative the differences persist.

viz. iwoyu (this very) (3) Ze. Ma.
iwaya (these very) (6) Ze. Ma.

iwowu (this very) (3) Ka.
iwawa (these very) (6) Ka.

11) Semi-vowel β of Ze. alternates in many forms with w of Ma.

e.g. (phon.) -βa (become) Ze.
-wa (become) Ma.

aβa (these) (2) Ze.
awa (these) (2) Ma.

71. 4) Delabialization.

This is the process whereby a labial sound is changed into a non-labial.

msg 1) The semi-vowel w, when followed by e, is sometimes delabialized in alternative forms, semi-vowel + e becoming vowel o.

e.g. (phon) cp. ngwena (crocodile) and ngona (id.)
skwero (all day) skoro (id.)

72. 5) Resonation.

Resonation is a process by which an unresonated sound is changed into one accompanied by resonance.

In Ma., e.g. Guta, w, when preceded by the bilabial nasal is pronounced with nasal resonance.

e.g. mwana (child)

C) Changes involving consonants.

73. 1) Elision.

1) The prefix of class 5, consonant and vowel, is in all cases elided. In some cases, viz. in all cases when the initial phones of noun stems are p, t, k, c, ts and also, though very seldom, when the stem begins with pf, this elision leaves a trace in the voicing of these initial phones.

e.g. ŋanga (knife) < [rɪ-] + -panga

dare (council-
place) < [rɪ-] + -tare

bveni (baboon) < [rɪ-] + -pfeni

ii) The full form dziN⁻¹ of the UrBantu class 10 prefix ɪ-~~ni~~- is met in a very few cases:

e.g. dzimba (houses),

in which the stem is monosyllabic. Elsewhere, as a prefix in secondary function, it may appear as dzi-,

e.g. madzibaba (several fathers).

In all other cases it is completely absent.

The class 9 prefix, ni- in UrBantu, appears in Shona as N- in some cases,

e.g. imba (house) (with epenthetic i- in the case of monosyllabic stems)

mbereko (cradle-skin) ni- + -berek- + -o
cp. -berek-a (bear).

ndima (garden plot) ni- + -rim- + -a
cp. -rim-a (plough).

1. N- stands for the prefix of class 9 (and the second element in the originally disyllabic prefix of class 10). It appears as a variable nasal consonant in many cases, having been assimilated to the initial sounds of the stems to which it has been prefixed. In other cases it disappears, sometimes with attendant phonological change in the initial sounds of stems to which it has been joined. /cont.

Footnote cont. from previous page.

For a statement of the behaviour of these prefixes,
cf. parr. 153 - 166 below.

In other cases it disappears but exercises phonological influence on initial sounds of stems.

e.g. pfungwa (thought) < ni- + -fungwa cp. -funga (think)
hama (relative) < ni- + -kama cp. hukama
(relationship)

In other cases it disappears without exercising phonological influence.

e.g. surudzo (strainer) Ka. ni- + -surudz- + -o
cp. -surudza (strain)

iii) The consonant of the infinitive prefix, ku-,
is frequently elided, coalescence of a terminative with
the vowel u then taking place.

e.g. Anonyanyocema (he cries exceedingly)
< Anonyanya + kucema.

iv) In Ze. the consonant of the prefix of class
14 is often elided when joined to a non-monosyllabic
stem.

e.g. upenyu (life) (14)
cp. huso (face)

v) In Ma. the bilabial nasal consonant is omitted
from the concords of the enumerative stems -mpe (one) and
-mpe (other) in classes 1, 3, 4 and 6.

e.g. munhu umpe (another person)

vi) In the Mari dialect of Ka., when r is followed by a
w, the velar evolved between r and w is plosivized and, at
the same time, r is elided.

e.g. in the possessive concord of class 11: gwa- cp. Ze.
rwa-
in the passive: -gagwa (be sat) cp. Ze. -garwa.
in stems generally: e.g. -gwara (be sick) cp. Ze.
-rwara.

74. 2) Assimilation.

This process contains a number of subsidiary processes all of which exemplify, but in different ways, the assimilation of one consonant to another.

75. a) Bilabialization.

- 1) The nasal consonant of the prefix of classes 9 and 10 is bilabialized when joined to stems commencing ψ in a bilabial or labio-dental consonant.

e.g. mboni (pupil of eye)	<	N- + -vona (see)
mhuka (animal)	<	N- + -puka
mbereki (parent)	<	N- + -bereka (beget)
mvuto (bellows)	<	N- + -vuta (blow)

- 11) Another case is the change of \underline{t} to \underline{p} , \underline{d} to \underline{b} and \underline{n} to \underline{m} in the compound consonant combinations \underline{ps} , \underline{bz} and \underline{mz} , this bilabialization being caused by the extreme lip-rounding which accompanies these combinations. This occurs only in Ma.

e.g. (phon.) p̄simbo (stick)	cp. t̄simbo (stick) Ze. and Ka.
-m̄zenga (dodge)	-bzenga (dodge) Ze. and Ka.

76. b) Supradentalization.

- 1) The nasal consonant of the prefixes of classes 9 and 10 is supradentalized when joined to stems commencing in supradentals or alveolars. It is also supradentalized with some stems whose initial phone was Ur-Bantu $\underline{\chi}$.

e.g. nhemo (chisel)	<	N- + -tema (cut)
ndiki (small)/Ze.	<	N- + -diki (small) adjectival stem.
ndefu (long)/Ze.	<	N- + -refu (long) adjectival stem.
nzou (elephant)	<	N- + -yoyû (elephant)

77. ii) Supradentalization and alveorization takes place in the formation of short causatives.

e.g. -mutsa (rouse) < -muka (rise) + -ŷa
-ridza (sound) < -rira (cry) + -ŷa
-iṣa (make bad) < -ipa (be bad) + -ŷa
-redza (lengthen) < -reṣa (be long) + -ŷa

78. c) Prepalatalization.

- 1) The nasal consonant of the prefixes of classes 9 and 10 is prepalatalized before certain vowel stems, the prefix vowel i being absorbed into the prepalatal nasal. The operative factor here may have been an inter-vocalic semi-vowel glide y between the vowel i of the prefix and the vocalic stem.

e.g. nyati (buffalo) (?<ni + y + ati) < ni- + -ati

- ii) Prepalatalization also takes place in one case of the short causative in Ka. the reciprocal ending -ana becoming -anya.

e.g. -paradzanya (separate) < -paradzana (be separate) +
-ŷa

- iii) Further examples of prepalatalization are in the following diminutives formed by suffix.

e.g. (phon.) haḍḡgana (small pot) Ze. < hari (pot) +
-ana

murunyana (husband's younger brother) < murume (husband) + -ana

79. d) Velarization.

- 1) The Nasal consonant of the prefixes of classes 9 and 10 is velarized when joined to stems whose original initial consonant was Ur-Bantu ɣ. This ɣ sometimes becomes g, sometimes is absorbed in the velar nasal.

e.g. ngano (story) < N- + yano (fable)
nanga (doctor) < N- + yaṅga (doctor)

80. e) Labialization.

- 1) When labialized sounds, viz. s, z, ts, dz, and nz, are followed by w, a velar explosive in Ze. or, in Ka., a prevelar fricative is evolved between the labialised sound and the semi-vowel, voiceless after voiceless

labialized sounds and voiced after voiced. This new consonant, which is part of the compound consonant-semi-vowel combination, is also labialized.

e.g. (phon.) -taʃ^ɣwa (be mounted) Ka. cp. -taʃa (mount)
-taʃ^ɣwa (be mounted) Ze.
-kweʒ^ɣwa (be drawn,
enticed) Ze. -kweza (draw,
entice)
-kweʒ^ɣwa (be drawn,
enticed) Ka.
-naɲ^ɣzɔwa (be licked) Ze. cp. -naɲza (lick)
-naɲ^ɣzɔwa (be licked) Ka.

81. 3) Alternation.

The following is a list in phonetic script of some of the dialectal correspondences of consonants and consonant-combinations in Central Shona.

	Ze.	cp.	Ka.	Ma.
β	βanhu (people)	v	vanhu	w wanhu
r	duri (mortar)	ɾ	ɾuri ¹	r duri
s	-rasa (lose)	ʃ	-raʃa	s -rasa
z	zinyere (big pipe)	z	zinyere	dz dzinyere
h	huso (face)	u	uuso	- uso
pf	pfupa (bone)	f	fupa ²	pf pfupa
bv	-bvunza (ask)	v	-vunza ³	bv -bvunza
pk	-ipka (sweet-reed)	pk	pka	pk ipka
bg	ibge (stone)	bɣ	bɣe	bɣ ibɣe
mɲ	mɲana (child)	mɲ	mɲana	mɯ mɯana
ts	tsuro (hare)	ʃ	ʃuro	ts tsuro
nz	nzeve (ear)	ʒ	ʒeve	nz nzewe
ʈs	ʈsina (dirt)	s	sina	ʀs ʀsina
ɖz	-ɖzinya (press)	ɖz	-ɖzinya	ɖz -ɖzinya
ɲz	ɲzimbo (place)	ɲz	ɲzimbo	ɲz ɲzimbo
tskw	tskwanda (basket)	xw	xwanda	tsw tswanda
tkw	-ɓatkwa (be caught) ⁴	xw	-ɓaxwa	tw -ɓatwa
tʃk	-tʃka (fear)	ɬɕ	-ɬɕa (fear)	tɕ -tɕa (fear)
dʒg	-dʒga (eat)	ɬɟ	-ɬɟa (eat)	ɬɟ -ɬɟa (eat)

-
1. In Ka. h occurs before i and sometimes before e. Otherwise r is found.
 2. But in other forms, pf. appears in all dialect groups e.g. pfuma (riches).
 3. But in other forms, bv appears in all dialect groups. e.g. ibvi (knee) Ze. and Ma; bvi (knee) Ka.
 4. Other consonant-semi-vowel combinations and the correspondences are mentioned under the heading of Epenthesis.

82. 4) Emergence.

By this term is meant the reappearance, under certain circumstances, of a sound originally present in a stem but, for the most part, elided.

The Ur-Bantu consonants ɣ and ɻ, especially when stem-commencing, have often been elided.

e.g.	-enda (go)	cp. Ur-B.	-yenda (go)
	-amɻa (suck)		- <u>ɻ</u> amua (suck)

When noun stems, originally commencing with v or v, are joined to prefixes of classes 5, 9 or 10, there is often an emergence of the original consonant under various forms.

In class 5, under the influence of [ri-], ɻ appears as z.

e.g.	zino (tooth)	cp. Ur-B.	-y ^h ino (tooth)
	ziso (eye)		-y ^h i <u>ko</u> (eye)
	zano (plan)		-yano (fable)

In classes 9 and 10, under the influence of N-, which, in its turn, has been influenced, ɣ and ɻ may appear as z.

e.g.	nzara (finger nail)	cp. Ur-B	-yald (finger nail)
	nzendo (journeys)		-yenda (go)

In other cases, under the influence of N-, which, in its turn, has been influenced, these consonants appear as g or j.

e.g.	ngano (story)	cp. Ur-B	-yano (fable)
	njiva (pigeon)		-y ^h i <u>va</u> (pigeon)

In the case of ganga (doctor), cp. Ur-B. -yanga, Ur-B ɻ has been elided, but shows its influence in the velar form of the initial nasal consonant.

83. 5) Epenthesis.

There is epenthesis of velar explosives in Ze. and of prevelar fricatives in Ka. and some Ma. when non-bilabial, non-velar or non-glottal consonants are followed by the semi-vowel w. The new sounds appear between the consonants in question and the semi-vowel, being voiceless after voiceless consonants and voiced after voiced.

e.g. (phon.) raskwa (be lost) Ka. cp. -rasa (lose)
-rasxwa (be lost) Ka.

-βezgwa (be carved) Ze. cp. -βeza (carve) Ze.
-uezywa (be carved) Ka. -ueza (carve) Ka.

This occurs not only in the formation of passives, of which the above are examples, but also in the formation of absolute pronouns, demonstrative qualificatives, quantitative concords, possessive concords and the past and exclusive subject concords of class 11 and 13.

e.g. the absolute pronouns:

irgwo (it - (11)) Ze.
itkwo (they - (12)) Ze.

irgwo (it - (11)) Ka. (not Mari)
itkwo (they - (12)) Ka. (not Mari)

84. 6) Syllabification.

The consonant m is syllabified when the vowel u in the prefix of classes 1 and 3 is elided in quick speech before stems commencing in a labial or supradental sound.

e.g. mpfumi (rich person) cp. mupfumi

85. 7) Metathesis.

This process refers to the change of position of two consonants or consonant-combinations within the same word.

e.g. -natso- (nicely) - deficient verb + contracted infinitive complement. Ze. Ka.
-tsano- (nicely) Ze.

-ratidza (show) Ze.
-taridza (show) Ka. cp. -tarisa (look) Ze. Ka.

-tinginika (be thin-waisted) Ze.
-ningitika (be thin-waisted) Ze.

-reveteka (speak) Ze.
-vereketa (speak) Ma.
cp. -bgereketa (speak) Ka.

-sunungura (untie) the transposed version of the reversion found in all dialect groups:
-sungunura, cp. -sunga (tie), now no longer found.

86. 9) Voicing.

By voicing is meant the change of a non-voiced sound into a voiced one.

i) The voiceless sounds p, t, k, c, ts and, though seldom pf, are voiced when occurring initially in the stems of class 5 nouns.

e.g. banga (knife)	cp. the plurals mapanga
demo (axe)	matemo
gore (cloud)	makore
jinda (chief's son)	macinda
dzatsatša (species of spider)	matšatsatša
bveni (baboon)	mapfeni

ii) The initial consonants and consonant-combinations of/verb-stems, as well as, in some cases, consonants and consonant-combinations within the stem, are changed into the corresponding voiced sounds to form the augmentative species.

e.g. -gwiza (rub against)	cp. -kwiza (polish)
-gwadama (fall on the knees - of something heavy)	-kwatama (fall - of something light)

iii) The same process is applied to ideophones. The change indicates that a larger or more weighty action is in question.

e.g. fosho (of flowing out)
vozho (of gushing out)

87. 10) Explosivization.

This is the change of a non-explosive into an explosive.

The consonant v in Ka., when followed by w, is turned into the bilabial explosive b, the w being replaced by y.

This takes place in the formation of passives when the final root consonant of the simple form is v, in the formation of the absolute pronoun, the demonstratives, the possessive and quantitative concords and the past and exclusive concords of class 14, as well as in the formation of diminutives by suffix when the final stem consonant is v.

e.g. (phon.) robya (be beaten)	cp. -rova (beat)
ibyo (it - 14))	
ubyu (this - 14))	
bya- (possessive concord, class 14)	
byo- (exclusive concord, class 14)	
habyana (young fox)	cp. hava (fox)

88. 11) Frication.

This change is the turning of a non-fricative consonant into a fricative.

The consonants p, t and k, when occurring as initial phones of stems of classes 9 and 10, are changed into the voiced glottal fricative h.

e.g. mhuka (animal)	cp. rupuka (thin animal)
nhemo (chisel)	-tema (cut)
hama (relative)	hukama (relationship)

89. 12) Affrication.

This change is the turning of a non-affricate into an affricate, viz. a consonant-combination made up of an explosive and a fricative.

The voiceless fricatives, when occurring initially in stems of class 9 or 10 nouns, may be changed into affricates.

e.g. pfungwa (thought)	cp. -funga (think)
tsero (flat baskets)	rusero (flat basket)
tsingo (stone fortifications)	rusingo (stone wall)

PART 11

MORPHOLOGY

90. Morphology may be defined as the study of the structure of words. Being concerned primarily with words and the main categories or parts of speech into which they fall, such a study is necessarily mainly an analytic one. First of all, the language is studied according to a grammatical scheme in which only one part of speech is studied at a time; secondly, the structure of each part of speech has to be analysed to discover the laws of its formation.

91. The grammatical scheme.

The grammatical scheme I have adopted here will be recognised as being, with minor differences,¹ the same as that applied to Zulu and Lamba by Professor Doke. In the elaboration of this scheme, a study which properly belongs to the department of syntax, parts of speech are distinguished according to their meaning and the type of grammatical function which they discharge in the sentence. The parts of speech are taken to be the following:

-
1. The differences concern the classification of the demonstratives and the quantitatives, which I have termed qualificatives, but which are classified by Professor Doke as demonstrative and enumerative pronouns. In this I have followed the position adopted by Professor Lestrade.

No special vindication of this grammatical scheme, or of the system of word-division which it implies, is attempted here. However, the fact that one is able to treat a further language like Shona reasonably adequately according to this scheme is an indirect argument on its behalf.

1. The substantive.

This includes the noun, e.g. munhu (person),
and the pronoun.

The pronoun is either absolute, e.g. ini (I),
or qualificative.

The qualificative pronoun may be:

adjectival, e.g. mukuru (big one),
demonstrative, e.g. uyu (this one),
enumerative, e.g. upi ? (which one ?)
quantitative, e.g. tose (we all),
possessive, e.g. wangu (my one),
relative.

The relative qualificative pronoun may be

either of direct relation, e.g. wauya kuno
(one who came here).

or of indirect relation, e.g. wandisingazive
(one whom I know not).

11. The qualificative.

This includes the adjective,¹ e.g. munhu mukuru (a
big person);
the demonstrative, e.g. munhu uyu (this
person);
the enumerative, e.g. munhu upi ?
(which person ?);
the quantitative, e.g. isu tose (all of us);
the possessive, e.g. munhu wangu (my
person)
the relative - of direct relation,
e.g. munhu wauya kuno
(a person who came here);
- of indirect relation,
e.g. munhu wandisingazive
(a person whom I know not).

111. The predicative.

This includes the verb, e.g. wauya (he came); and
the copulative, e.g. ndisekuru (it is
grandfather).

1. The examples include a qualified substantive.

IV. The adverbial, e.g. cete (merely)

V. The conjunctive, e.g. kana (if).

VI. The exclamation,

This includes the ideophone, e.g. potyo (of entering)
and the interjective e.g. Hongu! (Yes!)

392.

Form and function.

An important distinction must be made between the primary and the secondary functions of the parts of speech. A grammatical form, such as the noun, has certain primary substantival and, (in casu) nominal functions. Indeed the noun receives its grammatical identity as a separate part of speech partly from these functions. Other special characteristics of the noun are its meaning and its special form. From the functional aspect, the noun is a word which may act as a subject or object of a verb, as a qualificate or the stem of certain types of qualificative or adverbial etc. From the semantic aspect, nouns are words which signify things by being the names by which they are known. From the formal aspect, nouns have special characteristics which serve to identify them and which are the morphological correlate of the semantic and functional characteristics. In casu these formal characteristics may be summed up by saying that nouns are compounded of two elements, a prefix and a stem.

Returning to the subject of function, it is fact that the noun has certain primary functions proper to itself. But it is not limited to them. While remaining unchanged in form, the noun may discharge the primary functions of other parts of speech, e.g. the functions of the descriptive, the interjective, the qualificative, the conjunctive and even the verb. Such functions are secondary to the noun.

e.g. - the descriptive function:

Ndiri kurwara muviri wose (I am sick (with regard to my) whole body) cp. muviri (Body)

~~the interjective function:~~

~~Mai wee! - (O mother !)~~ cp. ~~mai (mother)~~

- the qualificative function:

- the interjective function:

Mai wee! (O mother!) Cp. mai (mother)

- the qualificative function:

tsuro-shapa (a hare of the sandy soil, sandy-soil hare) Cp. shapa (sandy soil)

- the conjunctive function:

ciko ndapinda (since I entered) Ma.
Cp. ciko (time, spell)

- the verbal function:

Ndiri kurwara (I am sick) Cp. kurwara¹ (to be sick, sickness)

In these secondary functions the meaning of the noun is fitted into the new syntactical context proper to the new function and the relations it implies.

This multi-functional activity is not confined to the noun but obtains in the case of most other parts of speech.

1. It may be queried whether the verbal use of the infinitive is really a case of secondary function. The infinitive seems to be an example of a word belonging equally to two parts of speech. Cf. Par.193.

93. Word-structure.

With regard to the formation of the different parts of speech, certain words do not admit of morphological analysis. These are the primitive adverbs, interjections, conjunctives and underived ideophones. Other parts of speech, however, are compounded of formatives and stems or roots.

The stem is that part of a word which is depleted of all prefixal inflexions.¹

e.g. -nhu in munhu (person); -ti in muti (tree)

In certain stems it is necessary to consider the terminative or final vowel apart from the root. Thus in verbs, and in nouns formed from verb stems, the terminative is significant and must be distinguished from the root.

e.g. -a in ndatora (I took); -e in handitore (I do not take)

In most noun and qualificative stems, the terminative does not seem to be grammatically significant.

The root is the irreducible element of a word, the primitive radical form without prefix, suffix or other inflection and not admitting of analysis.²

94. The main formatives are the prefixes, the concords, the verbal formatives, the suffixes, the terminatives, and the adverbial and copulative formatives.

The prefixes are noun formatives placed before the noun stem and serving to distinguish nouns into classes.

e.g. mu- in the noun munhu (person) (class 1)

The concords are prefixal formatives serving to link qualificatives and predicatives to the nouns to which they refer. Concord is either qualificative or predicative according as they are found in qualificatives or predicatives. The qualificative concord is divided according to the various types of qualificative stem into the adjectival, the demonstrative, the enumerative, the

1. Cf. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.200.

2. Cf. Doke, op.cit., p. 192.

the quantitative, the possessive and the relative of direct and indirect relation. The predicative concords are divided into the subject and object concords according as they refer to the subject or object of the predicate.

e.g. mu- in the adjectival qualificative mukuru (big) is an adjectival concord.

ti- in the predicative tiripo (we are here) is a subject concord.

Verbal formatives are used in the conjugation of the verb into the various conjugations, moods, tenses, etc. They are divided into the derived and the radical formatives according as they give evidence of being derived or not from verb stems.

e.g. -no- in the verb ndinotora (I take).

Suffixes are formatives joined to the end of words, frequently causing change to the final sounds.

e.g. the diminutive suffix -ana in the noun mbudzana (kid)
cp. mbudzi (goat).

Terminatives are the final vowels of verb stems or of noun stems formed from verb stems.

e.g. the terminative -i in the deverbative noun mubati (holder, governor) cp. -bata (hold)

The adverbial formatives are prefixal formatives joined to words and stems of various kinds to form adverbials.

e.g. the adverbial formative of manner in the adverbial sašaša (like father), cp. šaša (father).

The copulative formatives are prefixal formatives joined to words and stems of various kinds to form non-verbal predicatives.

e.g. The formative ndi- in the copulative ndišaša (it is father), cp. šaša (father).

CHAPTER 111

T H E N O U N

95. Definition: A noun is a word which signifies a person, or thing concrete or abstract, or a number or collection of persons or things, and is the name by which such persons or things, or the class to which they belong, are known.

The Noun Classes

96. In Shona, as in other Bantu languages, the noun is generally made up of two elements, the noun prefix - called here briefly the prefix - and the noun stem.

e.g. The noun munhu (person) is made up of the prefix mu- and the noun stem -nhu,
the noun vanhu (persons), of the prefix va- and the noun stem -nhu.

In general, both elements, prefix and stem, are necessary to constitute the complete noun.

Of the two, prefix and stem, it is the former which is important for classificatory purposes, nouns being divided into classes on the basis of the noun prefixes that they possess. Thus munhu (person) is in a different class from vanhu (persons). Yet it should be noted that munhu and vanhu are closely linked, being respectively singular and plural forms.

97. The prefix in Shona is the basis for certain other prefixal formatives called concorde. These are of two main types, qualificative and predicative, and by their prefixal position in qualificatives and predicates, they serve to express the syntactical relationships obtaining between qualificative and noun and predicate and noun.

Thus in the expression munhu mukuru (a big person), the adjectival qualificative mukuru is concordially related to the noun munhu by the adjectival concord mu-.

Each noun class has a set of these qualificative and predicative concords by which all such related words may be brought into concordial agreement with any member of the class.

98. The basis of classification of nouns in Shona.

In Shona, as in Zulu and Lamba,¹ the most satisfactory basis for the classification of nouns lies, not in the prefix alone, nor in the set of concords alone, but in the prefix and concords together.

99. The prefix. The prefix alone is not a sufficient criterion for the following reasons: 1) Nouns in class 1a have, in Shona, no prefix.

e.g. saša (father)
sekuru (mother's male blood relative).

2) The prefixes of classes 5, 9 and 10 are now of little help as class criteria, having in all cases lost their original syllabic form and having combined with the initial phone of the noun stem. As a result of this, they have either become disguised or have disappeared completely.

e.g. ṣaḍza (hoe) (5), where ṣaḍza < prefix [ri-] < + stem -padza.

cp. mapadza (hoes) (6)

mhuka (animal) (9), where mhuka < prefix ni- + stem -puka.

cp. kapuka (small animal) (13).

3) Classes 1 and 3 are indistinguishable on the mere comparison of prefixes. Marconnès, indeed, whose practical criterion of class division was the 'article' or prefix, treated these classes as one. To this single class he assigned three linked

1. Doke, Zulu par. 73.
Lamba par. 63.

plural forms, the prefixes of which are, respectively, those of class 2, 4 and 6.¹

e.g. Singular

munhu (person)
muti (tree)
multiro (way of doing)

Plural

vanhu (persons)
miti (trees)
maitiro (ways of doing)

100. The concords. Neither are the concords alone a sufficient criterion of classification. The reason is that there are classes, differing in prefix, which have the same concords. Thus the nouns of class 21, with prefix zi-, govern the same concords, as those of class 5 with prefix ri-. Nouns of class 1a, which have no prefix, similarly govern the same concords as nouns of class 1 with prefix mu-.

101. Taking the prefix and the set of concords together as a criterion of classification, we may define a noun class as a group of nouns which do not differ in prefix and which govern the same concords.

102. Upon this criterion, we are able to distinguish all the noun classes save classes 15 and 17 which have the prefix ku- and the same concords in common. Here we may perhaps be permitted to use considerations of a comparative nature, drawn from languages other than Shona. Shona is, indeed, somewhat singular in showing no difference between these classes, being otherwise a language in which initial vowels of the prefix, albeit latent, play an important part in phonology. Both of these classes have in common, not only the prefix, but also its latent initial vowel (u).

e.g. (u)kufamba (to travel) (15)
(u)kumba (in the vicinity of the house) (17)

In other languages which have patent initial vowels in the noun prefixes, classes 15 and 17 are seen to differ at this point, the former class possessing the initial vowel, the latter lacking it.

1. Marconnès, par. 74.

e.g. Nguni ukuhamba (to travel) (15)
 but kuŋantu (to the people) (17):
 Lamba ukucetekela (to believe) (15)
 but kuntu (to a place) (17)

103. It is true that, in Shona, class 15 nouns are distinguished from those of class 17 on a semantic basis, the former class containing nothing but verbal nouns, the infinitives, and the latter nothing but locative nouns. This point, namely the semantic aspect of classification, should be allowed due weight, though it is not characteristic of the majority of noun classes to possess a single common significance applying equally to all the members of the class. Classes 1 and 2 refer only to human beings; classes 13 and 12 only to small things, class 21 only to large things. But most classes possess several significances and are not restricted to one. Thus class 3 contains nouns indicating trees, parts of the body, atmospheric phenomena, things characterised by length, and miscellanea. In class 14, not all nouns agree even in the concept of number. Many nouns of this class are abstract and prescind from singularity or plurality, but there are others which refer to singular objects. Thus the concept of common significance cannot be included in the criterion of a noun class.

104. On the above criterion, then, and in the light of comparative evidence in the case of classes 15 and 17, we find 22 noun classes in Shona, the prefixes of these having the following basic forms:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Class 1	(u)mu-		Class 2 (a) va-
1a	---		2a va-
3	(u)mu-		4 (i)mi-
5	(i) [r1-]		6 (a)ma-
7	(i)ci-		8 (i)zi-
9	(i)N-		10 (i)N-
11	(u)ru-		
13	(a)ka-		12 (u)tu-

<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	Class 14 (u)hu-	
	15 (u)ku-	
	16 (a)pa-	
	17 (u)ku-	
	18 (u)mu-	
Class 19 (i)si-		
21 (i)zi-		

The prefixes are numbered according to Meinhof's system of enumeration in Ur-Bantu. Of the prefixes characteristic of each class, only the full forms are given, such as are found when the joining of prefix to stem occasions no change of form. Changes of form in the prefix will be noted as each individual class is dealt with.

The vowels in round brackets never appear as such, but exert phonological influence upon the vowels of prefixal formatives and, in Karanga, upon the terminative -a of immediately preceding verbs. Cf. par. 57 where coalescence is treated. The prefixes in Shona are, then, overtly monosyllabic, but have a latent initial vowel.

Nouns of class 1a have no prefix, but consist of stem alone. With this exception, every noun in Shona has, or may be shown to have had, one or other of the above prefixes.

The prefix of class 5 never appears as such in the form ri-, but its original presence in this form may be deduced from the forms of this prefix in other languages,¹

e.g. Nguni (Xh.) iliso (eye); prefix ili-;

Tsonga ribye (stone); prefix ri-;

Sotho (S.) letsoho (hand); prefix le-;

from the forms taken by the concords of this class,

e.g. the enumerative concord ri-;

1. But even in the languages which it does appear, this

disappears very easily. Thus it is used only with monosyllabic stems in Xhosa and Tsonga; in Sotho it disappears easily in certain common phrases, e.g. the contraction of ka lebaka la eng ? (for reason of what ?) to ka baka la'ng ?. Cp. lebaka (reason).

In Lamba this prefix is shortened from 11i- to 1- save before stems beginning with a vowel or a nasal compound. Cf. Doke, Lamba, par. 155.

and from the nature of the sounds which have resulted from the fusion of this prefix with the initial phones of the stem. Cf. par. 86 where voicing is treated.

The prefixes of classes 9 and 10 have in many cases disappeared, but elsewhere they appear as a variable nasal consonant with attendant phonological change in the initial phone of the stem. Cf. par 74f for the treatment of assimilation.

105. Prefixes in primary and secondary function.

Most noun stems are found in association with at least two prefixes, with one of which they are in the singular number and with the other in the plural. Thus the stem -kova is found in association with the prefix ru- of class 11 in the singular, and the prefix N- of class 10 in the plural.

i.e. rukova (river) (11)

hova (rivers) (10)

These would appear to be the normal forms in which the noun stem -kova appears. But since this stem appears with other prefixes as well, it is necessary to distinguish the normal, or primary, association of a stem with certain prefixes from the occasional, or secondary, association of the same stem with other prefixes.

e.g. the stem -kova with the prefixes of classes 13 and 12:

kakova (small river) (13)

tukova (small rivers) (12)

106. Those prefixes with which a stem is found in its primary form and with its basic meaning are called here prefixes in primary function, and the relationship of stems to prefixes in primary function is termed a relationship of primary association. Thus, in the examples rukova (river) (11) and hova (rivers) (10), the prefixes ru- and N- are in primary function, and the relationship of the stem -kova to them is one of primary association.

On the other hand, those prefixes with which a stem is not found in its primary form and basic meaning are termed prefixes in secondary function, and the relationship of a stem to a prefix in secondary function is further termed a relationship of secondary association. Thus, in the examples kakova (small river) (13) and tukova (small rivers) (12), the prefixes ka- and tu- are in secondary function, being joined to the stem -kova which is in a relationship of secondary association to them. The prefix in secondary function, in being substituted for that in primary function, e.g. the prefix ka- for ru-, always causes a change of meaning, or, more often, brings an additional note or concept to the meaning of the primary form of the noun.

107. In any one class, stems with prefixes in primary function can usually be grouped round one or more foci of significance. Thus, nouns in class 1 are all singular and all refer to human persons, those in class 2 are all plural and refer also to human persons. Many nouns in class 9 refer to animals in the singular, others to persons. It is true that in most classes there are groups of miscellanea which cannot as yet be satisfactorily grouped on a semantic basis; nevertheless definite significances exist which are associated with the prefix in primary function.

The semantic aspect of the prefixes in secondary function is more striking. This will be made clear by the following examples in which various prefixes in secondary function are substituted for those of classes 1 and 2 in primary function.

e.g. mukomana (boy)	vakomana (boys) (2)
cp. gomana (big boy) (5)	makomana (big boys) (6)
cikomana (short, fat boy)	zikomana (short, fat boys) (8)
long (7)	
rukomana (thin boy) (11)	-----
kakomana (small boy) (13)	tukomana (small boys) (12)
hukomana (boyhood) (14)	-----
zigomana (huge boy) (21)	mazigomana (huge boys) (6)

The following significances are seen to be associated with the prefixes in secondary function.

With those of classes 5 and 6, big size;

with those of classes 7 and 8, shortness and stoutness;

with those of classes 13 and 12, small size;

with that of class 11, thinness and length;

with that of class 14, abstract character.

Since nouns of class 1a have no prefix, a stem not normally in class 1a cannot be placed in it by substitution or superimposition of prefix. Neither is this change to be effected by removing the prefix in primary function. Instead, the prefix in primary function is neutralized, the whole noun being treated as a personification. An important consequence of this is that the latent initial vowel is elided.

e.g. tsuro (hare) (9)
Tsuro (Master Hare) (1a)

Many personal names are constructed in Shona like this.

108. With regard to nouns of deverbative stem, it may be argued that these provide further examples of the same process of substitution.

e.g. mufambi (traveller) (1) cp. kufamba (to travel) (15)
cigaro (seat) (7) kugara (to be seated) (15)

Here the prefixes of classes 1 and 7 are substituted for that of class 15. This case, however, is different from that of normal substitution in that, in the formation of deverbative nouns, the stem has a special terminative (usually -i or -o) which severs it from the infinitive

stem with terminative -a. There is not the same continuity between mufambi and kufamba as between rukova and kakova and, in the absence of this continuity of stem, we cannot properly talk of its prefixes in primary and secondary function. Further the stems of class 15 nouns differ from the other basically nominal stems in being verbal as well. I regard, then, the prefixes of deverbative nouns as being in primary function.

A deverbative stem once constituted may have prefixes in primary or secondary function.

e.g. cigaro (seat) (7)

cp. garo (stock, butt of a gun) (5) with prefix ri- in secondary function.

109. To the semantic effect which is gained from such substitutions, the significance associated with the class to which the stem normally belongs provides the background.¹ Thus, for example, the normal word for a man is murume. To call a man by the term ndume (male beast) (9) is to use the stem -rume in secondary association with prefix N-, having as background the normal association of this stem with prefix mu-. It is equivalently to leave the human sphere and descend to the associations connected with the prefixes of classes 9 and 10, viz. animality. Such a substitution is likely, then, to be insulting unless made in jest.

With the use of prefixes in secondary function, therefore, there are associated certain significances which are fully appreciated in each individual case of substitution, when the noun in its new form is implicitly compared with the normal form,² e.g. gomana with mukomana, ndume with murume.

1. This is a special case of the general usage of playing upon words which is observed in riddles, songs, nicknames, totem-names etc. The associations connected with a normal form are the background against which the new form (with its special semantic characteristics) is appreciated.
2. Marconnès was so impressed with the high degree of interchangeability of the prefixes that he declared the Shona noun able to change its prefixes as easily as the English noun its adjectives. In this view there would

exist no normal form with prefix in primary function, whereas it is only in virtue of the existence of a normal form with primary meaning that the use of the prefixes in secondary function can convey their peculiar force. Marconnès treats the semantic aspect of this topic well in par. 58-9, 67, 111, 138-143, 418, 431.

In Marconnès' view, the prefix is an article; it is the stem which is the noun proper. These are two parts of speech and must, accordingly, be written separately. Yet he admits that the articles divide the nouns into genders, a term which he prefers to classes because the latter term "almost necessarily conveys the idea of divisions, categories, into one of which each noun finds a fixed place". par. 431.

There must, of course, be some compatibility between the meaning of the stem and that of the prefix in secondary function. Thus Bullock¹ says that tauro (hare) (9) may be called katsuro (small hare) (13), because he is small, but not citsuro (short and fat hare) (7) because he is not like mbira (9) the rock-rabbit. Also one may not say cigo (7) of the wasp, (igo) (5), because it is thin-waisted, though one might say ruogo (11) to comment on its length.

Hence, though Shona allows considerable latitude in the substitution of prefixes in secondary function for those in primary, there are limits set by the meanings of both the particular stems and the prefixes. In practice the student should hesitate to use these more colourful derived nouns until he has heard them for himself in a context which he has understood.

110. A prefix in secondary function may be joined to stems in three ways: 1) as a substitute prefix;

2) as a preprefix;

3) as an infix.

1) A substitute prefix replaces a prefix in primary function, e.g. cp. kakoua (small river) (13) and rukoua (river) (11). This process is called substitution of prefixes.

2) A preprefix is joined, not to a noun stem, but to a full noun which functions as a stem taking the class of the preprefix. e.g. cp. cimuti (a bit of wood) (7) and muti (tree) (3). Such a stem may be a noun with its prefix in primary function or one with prefix in secondary function.

e.g. Stem with prefix in primary function:

cimusoro (decapitated head)(7) cp.musoro (head)(3)
huhuswa (nature of grass)(11) huswa (grass)(14)

Stem with prefix in secondary function:

zigwasha (huge son-in-law)(21) cp.mukwasha (son-in-law) (1)

In the latter example, the noun gwasha, which is stem to the preprefix zi-, has prefix [ri-] in secondary function.

The stem of the preprefix may be a noun with more than one prefix already.

e.g. mumamisha (in the collections of villages) (18)
cp. mamisha (collections of villages) (6)
and misha (villages) (4)

Such combinations of prefixes may not agree in number where one prescind from number.

e.g. ciwanhu (the native language) (7)

cp. vanhu (the people) (2)

This process may be called the superimposition of prefixes. In the resultant noun, all the prefixes contribute to the total meaning.

3) A prefix in secondary function may be an infix. As such it is placed between a prefix in primary or secondary function and its stem.

e.g. vadzimai (mothers)(2a) cp. vamai (mothers)(2a)
madzimai (mothers)(6)

In these examples the prefix of class 10, dzi-, stands between the stem mai and the prefixes of class 2a (the prefix in primary function) and of class 6 (that in secondary function). This process may be called the infixing of prefixes.

While the infixing of prefixes in secondary function is comparatively rare, substitution and superimposition are frequent. In the first case, it is a stem which undergoes the semantic colouring caused by the prefix in secondary function; in the second, it is a full noun, semantically more precise than the more diffuse stem, which is affected.

e.g. kana (small offspring) (13) cp. -ana (young)

kampana (small child)(13) mpana (child)(1)

111. The following limitations upon this substitution and superimposition of prefixes in secondary function have been noticed. Otherwise, it would appear, both may be freely practiced in regard both to stems and full nouns.

- 1) Prefixes in secondary function are substituted for, not superimposed on, the prothetic i- of nouns of classes 1a, 5, 9 and 10 with monosyllabic stem.

e.g. kashe (small chief)(13) cp. ishe (chief) (1a)

kago (small hornet) (13) igo (hornet) (5)

tumbga (small dogs) (12) imbga (dogs) (10)

- 2) Prefixes in secondary function are usually substituted for and not superimposed on class 5 prefix, [ri-].

e.g. kapanga (small knife)(13) cp. sangga (knife)(5)

112. Most noun stems are found in the relation of primary association with two prefixes with which they form the singular and plural forms. Some noun stems, however, may be found thus associated with less than two, some with more.

With less: Some nouns are found in only one number,

of singular form, e.g. civeve (cramps)(7), or

of plural form, e.g. mapere (leprosy) (6).

With more: In the case of some stems in frequent association with several prefixes, it is difficult to decide which is the normal form.

e.g. munhu (person) (1)
cinhu (thing) (7)
panhu (at a place) (16)
kunhu (round a place) (17)
hunhu (nobility of character) (14)

mutenda (invalid) (1)
denda (fever) (5)
nhenda (sickness) (9)
katenda (defect of character) (13)

However, a case can be made out for a normal form in each instance and it is probably more satisfactory to adopt the hypothesis of one normal form for each noun stem and regard the others as derived.

113. Number. Some noun classes are basically singular in significance, others are basically plural, while others have no number. This is indicated in the table of class prefixes by the column under which each class is entered.

Noun classes which are singular or plural are usually paired, nouns in one singular class having their plurals in another, and linked, plural class. In the table of class prefixes, the paired singular and plural forms are set opposite each other.

A singular class may have more than one paired plural. Thus, nouns in class 11 form plurals, some in class 10, some in class 6.

e.g. rurimi (tongue) (11) ndimi (tongues) (10)
ruoko (arm) (11) maoko (arms) (6)

A plural class may have more than one paired singular. Thus, nouns in class 10 form singulars in class 9 and class 11.

e.g. hama (relatives) (10) hama (relative) (9)
hova (rivers) (10) rukova (river) (11)

A noun class basically singular or plural may contain nouns of no number - viz. nouns that do not indicate an entity or entities but material, quantity or abstract quality.

e.g. madabga-dabga (thin porridge) (6)
cikadzi (woman-fashion) (7)

Similarly, a noun class basically neutral with regard to number may include nouns indicating singular objects.

e.g. huso (face) (11)
op. huci (honey) (11)

Nouns which are plural in form may be singular in reference, being honorific forms. These include many nouns in class 2a.

e.g. vatete (father's sister) (2a)

Classes 11, 19 and 21 have no linked plurals indicated in the table. The linked plural classes of class 11 are classes 10 and 6 as already stated. The plural of class 19 is class 14

e.g. sana (small child) (19)
bgana (small children) (14)

The plural of class 21 is the preprefix ma- of class 6 in secondary function.

e.g. zirume (big male) (21)
mazirume (big males) (6)

The various forms of singular, plural and of no number will be treated in detail below.

The Stem

114. The second element in the noun is the stem. The stem, as such, is not involved in the change from one class to another, whether this change be that of the singular to the plural class or vice versa,

e.g. mukadzi (woman) (1) vakadzi (women) (2);
or that of the substitution of one prefix for another in secondary function.

e.g. mukadzi (woman) (1) cikadzi (short, fat woman) (7).
The stem may be involved, however, in phonological changes which are occasioned by the addition of the prefix to the stem, only the initial phone of the stem being affected and such changes differing according to the nature of the prefix

concerned and the initial phone of the stem.

Noun stems may be basically nominal or they may be derived from other parts of speech.

e.g. mukadzi (woman) (1) in which the stem is basically nominal; mufambi (traveller) (1) in which the stem is derived from -famba (travel).

In the material that follows, nouns with derived stems are treated in detail (in Chapter 1V) after nouns with basically nominal stems (the present chapter).

Classes 1 and 2

115. The prefixes of class 1 and 2 are mu- and va- respectively before all stems commencing in a consonant and before deverbative stems commencing in a vowel.

116. Class 2 is the normal plural form of nouns in class 1, but certain class 1 nouns form a plural in class 6, with prefix ma- in secondary function.

117. Variant forms of the prefixes: 1) Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, the prefix mu- > mn-, the vowel u being consonantalized; dialectally, however, semi-consonantalization (mw-) and semi-consonantalization with nasal resonance (m̃w-) is found in place of full consonantalization.¹ The prefix va- > v-, the vowel a being elided. This does not happen before deverbative stems commencing in a vowel; there is, instead, juxtaposition of vowels.

e.g. <u>mnana</u> (child)	<u>vana</u>
<u>mnene</u> (owner)	<u>vene</u>
<u>mneni</u> (stranger)	<u>veni</u> ²

but <u>muendi</u> (one who goes)	<u>vaendi</u>	cp. <u>-enda</u> (go)
<u>muti</u> (agent)	<u>vaiti</u>	<u>-ita</u> (do)

2) In quick speech, mu- > syllabic m- in an unstressed syllable, especially before labial and supradental sounds

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 206.

2. I have inferred that the vowel a has been elided from the prefix of the noun vana because of its certain elision in the cases of vene and veni. An alternative to veni exists in vaeni.

in Zezuru.¹

e.g. mperekedzi (companion)	cp. -perekedza (accompany)
mbururuki (one who flies	
along)	-bururuka (fly)
mpfuri (blacksmith)	-pfura (forge)
but mupi (giver)	-pa (give)

118. With prefixes in primary function, the nouns in these classes indicate:

- 1) persons of various kinds and conditions;
- 2) members of tribes and peoples;
- 3) nouns formed from verbs; these are either agents or patients of the verbal action.

e.g. 1) munhu (person)	vanhu
murume (man)	varume
mukadzi (woman)	vakadzi
musikana (girl)	vasikana
muranda (servant)	varanda
muridzi (owner)	varidzi

Notice the following contractions of noun + possessive:

mnanangu! (my child!)	cp. mgana wangu (my child)
mubiyangu (a neighbour)	

The first example is used as an interjective.

2) In this category, the class 1 noun indicates a member of the tribe or people. Where the tribe is a small and familiar grouping, the plural in class 2 indicates that the people spoken of, members of the tribe, are regarded by the speaker in a friendly manner. The plural in class 6 indicates that they are regarded in a hostile manner. Where the tribe or people is a large, strange or unfamiliar grouping, the plural form may be in either class 2 or class 6. The latter form is not necessarily hostile nor is the former form necessarily friendly. Both are probably neutral.

e.g. muMbire (a Mbire)	vaMbire / maMbire
muNjanja (a Njanja)	vaNjanja / maNjanja
muHungwe (a Hungwe)	vaHungwe / maHungwe
muHera (a Hera)	vaHera / maHera
muRozi (a Rozi)	vaRozi / maRozi
muShawasha (a Shawasha)	vaShawasha / maShawasha

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics par. 88.

muPutukezi (a Portuguese)	maPutukezi
muNdevere (a Ndebele)	maNdevere
muKuwa (a white man)	maKuwa
muRungu (a white man)	vaRungu
muZungu (a white man)	vaZungu / maZungu ¹

3) Nouns with deverbative stems: The stems of most deverbative nouns in these classes are formed by substituting terminative -i for -a in the verb stem. The resulting nouns signify the agent of the action of the verb.

When this process is applied to passive stems, the deverbative nouns signify the patients of the action indicated by the verb stem. Sometimes these stems do not suffix terminative -i, but retain the passive ending.

These are living processes, hence many verbs have corresponding deverbatives indicating agents and patients.

e.g. muḡi (thief)	cp. -ḡa (steal)
muḡati (governor)	-ḡata (hold)
muḡi (agent)	-ita (do)
musokeri (outsider)	-sokera (press in)
mutumḡi (messenger)	-tumḡa (be sent)
mutumḡa (messenger)	
muḡatwi (captive)	-ḡatwa (be held)
mutorwa (outsider)	-torwa (be taken)

119. The prefixes in secondary function:

- 1) The prefixes of these classes are occasionally used as preprefixes before nouns indicating persons, but normally in other classes - usually classes 5 and 9. A personal note is added to the noun by this process.²

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1. The situation with regard to these plurals indicating non-Shona peoples is not clear, some names having been directly imported from outside. Cp. muRungu (European) vaRungu with muKiwa (European) maKiwa. The form muKuwa, pl. maKuwa is, very likely, a direct borrowing from Venda where the word is likhuwa, pl. maKhuwa (white men). The form for the Ndebele is probably a borrowing from that people. Cp. Ndebele: umNdebele, pl. amaNdebele. The form maZungu I have heard in the expression: MaZungu manyoka (The Europeans are big snakes).
 2. Outside the sections directly concerned with the forms of the plural, it is not necessary to append plurals where these are regular in form.

e.g. mujaya (young man)	cp. jaya (young man) (5)
murombe (strolling player)	rombe (strolling player) (5)
mushamjari (friend)	shamjari (friend) (9)
mucembere (old woman)	cembere (old woman) (9)
mapxere (young child)	pxere (young child) (9)

They are less often used as substitute prefixes, but where substitution occurs there seems to be a change of meaning in the derived noun.

mucinda (son of a chief)	jinda (district chief) (5)
mukarabge (father in law)	Ka. harabga (old man) (9) Ka.

- 2) The prefixes are preprefixed to nouns not indicating persons. The resultant noun indicates a special kind of person in keeping with the nature of the stem here in secondary association with the prefix.

e.g. muŋinga (messenger of chief)	cp. ŋinga (chief's enclosure) (5)
mudzimbahwe (messenger of chief)	dzimbahwe (chief's headquarters) (5)
mutenda (invalid)	nhenda (sickness) (9)

3. The prefix va- with a class 1 noun as stem forms a sort of ironic augmentative or honorific.

e.g. Uana aya vanoroorana vaciri pxere; vanocata vovaka imba yavo, imba yavo iyo haina mutsigo, imba iyo inenge maumbge. Ivo vamukadzi havari kuziva kuti ndiri kuiteyi mumba umu mavari; ipowo vamurauevowo cokuita cashayika.

(These children marry while still babes; they marry and then build their house, that house of theirs has no strength, that house resembles play-houses. She, the marvellous wife, doesn't know what she is doing in the house where she is; and as for him, that wonderful husband also -- there is nothing to do.)

120. Table of concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>		<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 1:	mu- <u>Str:</u>		mu- ¹	o-/wo-	wa- ²	a- ² /u-	-mu-
	<u>Wk:</u>		u-				
Class 2:	va-		va-	vo- ²	va- ²	va- ²	-va-

121. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Mukadzi wake mudiki ari kuŕika; ndiri kumuona (His junior wife is cooking; I see her).
 Wakadzi vake vadiki vari kuŕika; ndiri kuvaona (His junior wives are cooking; I see them).
 Ari wose munhu anoda munhu mumwe (Every person loves some person).
 Vari vose vanhu vanoda vanhu vamwe (All people love some people).

Classes 1a and 2a

122. Class 1a has no prefix. The prefix of class 2a is va-. This is the only prefix in Shona with high tone; all other prefixes are low-toned.

123. Variant forms of the prefix: As the class 2a forms are frequently used in an honorific sense with singular reference, there are other forms for plural reference. These employ a combination of prefixes, either those of classes 2a + 10 or those of classes 6 + 10. These forms are:

vadzi- e.g. vadziŕaŕa (fathers) cp. ŕaŕa (father)

maŕzi- maŕziŕaŕa (fathers, ancestors)

In these combinations, the prefix of class 10 (dzi) in the combination vadzi-, and the prefixes of classes 6 and 10 in the combination maŕzi- are in secondary function.

1. For the significance of the terms strong and weak, and for the incidence of these two types of enumerative concord, cp. par. 325.
2. These are the basic forms of the quantitative, possessive and subject concords. They are respectively subject to the changes treated under the terms substitution, coalescence, and elision and semi-consonantalization. Cf. par. 333 for the quantitative, par. 341 for the possessive, and par. 510 for the subject concord. Of the alternative forms for the subject concords, the first given is the common Ze. form, the second the common Ka. and Ma. form.

124. In primary function, these classes include:

- 1) terms denoting relatives, public personalities and associates;
- 2) dates;
- 3) a few names of animals;
- 4) the interrogative noun ani? (who?);
- 5) certain names.

125. 1) Terms of relationship: The following terms of relationship are found in class 1a in addition to terms indicating public personages and associates.

e.g. ishe ¹	(chief)
tenzi	(owner)
mambo	(paramount chief)
Sambo	(father) Ka. Ma.
mai	(mother)
mbuya	(midwife)
saša	(father)
tezara	(wife's male blood relative)
sekuru	(mother's male blood relative)
sawira	(privileged friend)
nevanje	(heir to the chieftom)
tateguru ²	(father's father's father)
hombarume	(skilful hunter)

The plural forms of these nouns in class 2a are usually honorific with singular reference. Nevertheless, they may be used with plural reference.

e.g. Kaziwayi vašaša mese mese muri pano ! (Greetings to all you fathers who are here !)

The normal prefixes used to convey plural reference are composite. They are those of classes 2a and 10: vadzi- and those of classes 6 and 10: madzi-.

Of these forms, the first indicates plurality, the second plurality as collective. It may also include an augmentative note as if great things are mentioned.³

e.g. madzishe enyika (the chiefs of the land)
vadzišaša vedu (our fathers)
madzišaša edu (our ancestors)
madzišaša namadzimai (gentlemen and ladies)

The following words have a prefix a- with low tone which is honorific:

amai (mother)
ambuya (grandmother)

1. This noun has prothetic i- in Ze. and Ma. which is absent from the Ka. form: she.
2. This is a compound noun. Cf. par. 240.
3. For the various significances of class 6 and 10 prefixes in secondary function. cp. parr. 144, 171.

The following words normally appear in the honorific form, being normally applied only to senior persons:

vatete	(father's sister)
vamgene	(husband's mother)
vambuya	(wife's mother)

The above five examples all govern plural concords, as does the word mayi (mother) Ka., if the person addressed is senior.

e.g. mayi vangu (my mother)
but mayi muduku (mother's younger sister)

Cp. the exclamation vashemi! (O you lords! = Eng. O Lord!).

The plurals of the above honorific forms have prefixes padzi- and madzi- as before, although note that a man may talk about his wife as mudzimai wangu, where the prefixal combination is that of classes 1 and 10. He will address her as padzimai, where this form, normally of plural reference, is merely honorific.

No doubt these longer plural forms have been evolved because of the frequent honorific function of the simpler class 2a form.¹

126. 2) Dates: The months and years in the European system of dating are referred to in Shona as nouns of class 1a, as are the following nouns indicating points or periods of time:

nhasi (today)	cp. Ma.	nyamus1 (today) (1a)
naka (this year)		nyamjaka (this year) (1a).

e.g. gore ra1950 (the year 1950)
munaAugust (in August)

The following words:

nezuro (yesterday)
rini ? (when ?)
zino (now)

though they are, morphologically, a conjunctive adverbial, a simple adverb and a demonstrative qualificative pronoun of class 8 respectively, and can all function as adverbials of time, may also be turned, without change of form, into class 1a nouns, taking the characteristic class 1a formatives and concords.

1. Cp. Nyanja azibambo (fathers); azimayi (mothers).

e.g. ndinezuro waakauya (it is yesterday he came)
narini wose (for ever; lit. with every when)
zino uno (this very minute)

127. 3) The names of a few animals:

e.g. magondo (hyena) Ma.
kamba (tortoise) Ma.
kondo (hamerkop)
mubemhe (donkey)

These nouns are normally in class 1a and must be distinguished from the names of animals which are personified.

The class 2a form of these nouns is usually honorific.

e.g. Umubemhe vadya pano apa (The donkey has eaten here).
Plural forms are made with the formatives vana-, the result being relative qualificative pronouns.¹

e.g. vanamubemhe (the donkeys; lit. those who are with the donkey).

128. 4) The interrogative noun ani ? (who ?)

The plural of this noun is also rendered by a relative qualificative pronoun with formatives vana-.

e.g. vanaani ? (who ? pl.)

129. 5) Certain names.

European Christian and surnames, as well as the names for certain functionaries, are placed in this class.

e.g. UaSimon (Mr. Simon)
UaAnna (Mrs. Anna; Mistress Anna)
Gavuna (The Governor)

The following indefinite names are also of class 1a.

Ningi (So-and-so)
Ngana do.
Ningirikiri do.
Nyakuti do.

These names all form plurals like ani ?, the class 2a forms being honorific.

130. Nouns of other classes personified in classes 1a and 2a.

These nouns are cases of secondary function. They include many of the names of people, and of personified animals and objects such as rivers and hills.

1. For a discussion of these forms of. par. 290.

131. Names of persons. Such names are usually of two kinds, personal and lineage names. A Shona will usually have one of each, a personal name given to him when he first sees the light of day, outside the hut where he was born, and a lineage name inherited in the male line. Most names, if not nouns of other classes, are creations from other parts of speech and are often compound in form. Yet, as names, they are all nouns of class 1a. The process of personification, which involves the attribution to the new noun of all the characteristic class 1a copulative and adverbial formatives, the elision of the latent initial vowel etc., does for the imported noun what the process of superimposition does in other classes, viz. constitutes a noun in a new noun class with a modified meaning. The prefix of class 2a is, of course, in use in secondary function.

e.g. Personal names of boys - from verbs:

Takawira (lit. We fell down)

Tashaya (lit. We lacked)

Tapambga (lit. We have been overpowered)

Taruvunga (lit. We went to meet it)

Tamuka-nenhamo (lit. We got up with calamity)

Tafire-nyika (lit. We died for the land)

Shoniwa (lit. Be blamed !)

Dzingirayi (lit. Drive ye away !)

Panganayi (lit. Plot ye together !)

- from nouns:

Banga (lit. Knife)

Badza (lit. Hoe)

Kufa (lit. Death)

Marufu (lit. Deaths)

Nyika-dzino (lit. These lands)

Gutsa (lit. Stump)

Personal names of girls - from verbs:

Taziwinga (lit. We went to meet them)

Mandibavarira (lit. You tried me)

Shungurudza (lit. Be at a loss !)

Fungisayi (lit. Think ye hard !)

- from nouns:

Cipfuko (lit. Pot)

Zivanze (lit. Yards)

Cinu (lit. Oil-pot)

Nicknames are constructed on the basis of personal characteristics:- of boys and men:

Mazhambe (Cry-baby)	cp. - zhamba (shout)
Mutanda-wacingama	cp. mutanda (3) (log)
(Obstinate mule)	-cingama (be athwart)

Mutsika-rota (Tippler) ¹	cp. -tsika (tread)
	rota (3) (ash)

Gutsa (Stump)	cp. gutsa (3) (stump)
---------------	-----------------------

- of women:

Cisike-Sike (One who cooks
much of no quality) cp. -Sika (cook)

The lineage name is inherited. Such names may be the titular names of chiefs, headmen or kraal-heads if such positions are associated with the lineage.

Cinamora	(Chief of the Shawasha)
Mangwende	(Chief of the Nhowe)
Şose	(Chief of the Mbire)
Mutasa	(Chief of the Manyika)
Makoni	(Chief of the Hungwe)

To distinguish one holder of the title from another, the personal name is used in apposition to the lineage name.

e.g. nguwa yaŞose Rutsununguru (the time of Şose
Rutsununguru).

1. viz. one who feels the ashes to find out if beer has been brewed. Some of these names are compound nouns which are treated below in par. 242.

132. Personifications of animals and other objects:

Such personifications are often met in stories. The common name is personified by the neutralization of the prefix. Prefixal formatives used with personifications undergo, then, no phonological change, such as occurs when these words are used with their ordinary meaning.

e.g. Rungano rwaTsuro naBveni (The story of Hare and Baboon)
cp. Rungano rwetsuro nebveni (The story of a hare and a baboon)

Rungano rwaMhembge naMheni (The story of Duiker and Lightning)
Rungano rwemhembge nemheni (The story of a duiker and the lightning)

The names of rivers are always personal.

e.g. Save (The Sabi)
Mutare (A river near Umtali)
Mazoe (The Mazoe)
Zambezi (The Zambezi)

The names of a few hills are also in class 1a.

e.g. Cigutsa (a hill near Chishawasha; lit. short stump)
Dgoma-kurira (a hill in the Mbire country; lit. a drum to sound)

133. Names in class 2a: The prefix of class 2a is va- with high tone.¹ Names in this class are honorific, viz. the plural prefix is used to convey respect but the reference is singular, not plural.

e.g. VaSadza (Mr. Sadza) cp. sadza (mealie porridge)(5)
VaHavanesu (Mrs. Havanesu) havanesu (they are not with us)

Such names are used of persons who are married and/or in positions of authority. Because of this honorific function, other constructions are customarily used to signify plurality associated with proper names.

1. It is just possible that this is a possessive concord. But note that in Venda and Sotho all prefixes are low in tone save that of class 2a, which is high. Admittedly this prefix in these languages has a special vowel, the forms being vho- and bo- respectively. Nevertheless I think it much more likely that va- here is a prefix, one suasive indication being the fact that va- with identical tone is found as the preprefix in the form padziḡaḡa and other such plurals.

The people associated with a man in his capacity as family head, village head, chief etc., are expressed by a possessive construction, the possessive concord being of class 2, wa- (those of-) and the possessive stem being a locative possessive qual. pronoun of Cl.17 which indicates the man's place, e.g. kwaSadza (Sadza's)

e.g. wokwaMuseka¹ (those of Museka's place, the Musekas)
wokwaMareke (those of Mareke's place, the people under his jurisdiction)

The number of people indicated by such an expression will vary according to the standing of the man to whose place the people are referred - whether he be a family head, district head, chief etc.

Children of the same lineage may be addressed or referred to as follows:

wana wanaMuseka (children of Mr. Museka)

This expression, in which the noun wana (children) is qualified by a possessive qualificative in which the name of the lineage title bearer is the possessive stem, must not be confused with the following:

wanawaMuseka (those who are with Mr. Museka, Mr. Museka and company).

This latter is a relative qualificative pronoun in which -nawaMuseka (with Mr. Museka) is a conjunctive adverbial functioning as a copulative stem and here in the relative mood.²

This relative expression, consisting of the relative concord of class 2 + a conjunctive adverbial stem made up of the formative na- + a proper noun and which is a copulative stem in the relative mood, is widely used as a plural.

-
1. This is not the relative copulative. The Shona relative would here employ the copulative verb -ri because of the presence of the locative complement.
 2. For an explanation and further examples of similar relative qualificative pronouns cf. par. 290.

e.g. vanaSimon (Simon and company, Simon and those like him)

vanaCinamora (Cinamora and his company, Cinamora and his councillors)

Ivo vanaKufa vaenda kupi ? (Where have Kufa and the others gone ?)

Yet even this form may be used in an honorific sense with singular reference, e.g. in the 1st. person:

Regayi tipinde isu vanaTauro (Let us Hares come in), but it is only one hare which is speaking. He uses this form in his own commendation.

Tipeyi zedu isu vanaMareke, tinogona kuridza (Give it to us Marekes, we can play),

but only one boy is speaking.

Similarly in the 2nd and 3rd. persons:

UanaBanga munoziveyi ? (You, Banga, what do you know ?)

is said to a boy who has done something pretentiously above his powers.

Pakupunzika munhu uyo vanaJojo navanaNhau vakanga variko. (When the person fell, Jojo and Nhau were there).

Here the speaker is disposed to flatter Jojo and Nhau who will witness on his behalf.

134. The concords of classes 1a and 2a. The nouns of these classes govern the same concords as those of classes 1 and 2. The position is complicated, however, by the fact that, in this class, the plural form has two functions, one honorific with singular reference, and the other that of plurality.

The etiquette of address: In general, one addresses one's equals, juniors and personal friends in the singular. They are referred to also in the singular

with singular concords. The classes of people referred to thus will include:

- munununa (a younger sibling of the same sex)
- muzukuru (a sister's child or child's child)
- muramu (a husband's brother or wife's sister)
- shamqari (a friend).

The names of such people will be used in the singular form, singular forms of pronouns and of concords will be employed when speaking to them or of them.

In general, one's seniors are addressed and referred to in the honorific plural form. Thus the terms:

- amai (mother)
- ambuya (grandmother)
- vambuya (wife's mother)
- vatete (father's sister)
- vamqene (husband's mother or sister)

refer to single people; they govern plural concords.

The terms:

- ba8a (father)
- tezara (wife's father or brother)
- sekuru (father's father, mother's male blood relative)

are usually in the singular form. But they will govern plural concords when they refer to the speaker's own father, the wife's own father and the father or mother's own father, mother's own brother respectively. In this case their names will be in class 2a. Other relatives of the ba8a class, and those of the tezara and sekuru classes will not be treated so respectfully, especially if they are junior to the speaker.

Elder siblings of the same sex - vakoma - are addressed and referred to honorifically. A boy or man may address his sister - hanzadzi - in the plural, especially if he wants to honour or coax her.

A chief will often be addressed by a commoner in the 3rd person singular or, if special honour is intended, in the 3rd. person plural. The 2nd. person plural may also be used.

A husband will address his wife as uadzimai before she has borne a child. After that, she is known as amai uaNingi (mother of So-and-so) where Ningi is the child's name. A husband is known as 6a6a uaNingi (father of So-and-so) after a child is born to him.

Classes 3 and 4

135. The prefix of class 3 is mu- before all stems commencing in a consonant and before deverbative stems commencing in a vowel.

It is mq- before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel.

The prefix of class 4 is mi- or mq- under the same conditions as those under which that of class 3 is mu- or mq-.

Class 4 is the normal plural form of nouns in class 3, but certain deverbative nouns in class 3 may form plurals in class 6, with prefix ma-, used in secondary function.

136. Variant forms of the prefixes: 1) Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, the prefixes mu- and mi- both > mq-, the vowel u of the class 3 prefix being consonantalized and the vowel i of the class 4 prefix being consonantalized and velarized. Dialectally, semi-consonantalization with or without nasal resonance replaces the full consonantalization. There are two instances of elision of the vowel of either prefix in alternative forms, both occurring before a vowel stem

commencing in o. In the following examples the singular and plural forms are identical.

e.g. mṙaka (year)	cp. naka (this year) (1a)
mṙanda (sheaf)	canda (bundle) (7)
mṙando (breeze, wet weather)	cando (cold) (7)
mṙena (hole)	
mṙea (air, soul)	
mṙedzi (moon)	njedzana (new moon) (9)
mṙenje (torch)	zhenje (big torch) (21)
mṙise (tail)	
mṙondo (shaft of spear)	condo (spike at spear base) (7)
mṙoyo / moyo (heart)	
mṙoto / moto (fire)	coto (hearth) (7)

The noun Mṙari (God) is now placed in class 1a but was probably originally classed here.

Before the stems of deverbative nouns commencing in a vowel, there is juxtaposition of the vowel of the prefix with that of the stem.

e.g. muenderero (progress)	
muendero (way of going)	miendero
multiro (way of doing)	mitiro.

2) As in the case of the prefix of class 1, the class 3 prefix mu- > syllabic m- in an unstressed syllable in quick speech, especially before labial and supradental sounds in Zezuru.¹ Common examples in the class are:

msana (back)
msoro (head)

customarily found in the following class 15 nouns as stems in secondary association:

pamsana (on account)	e.g. pamsana pako (on your account)
pamsoro (on top)	pamsoro pako (on top of you)

137. With the prefixes in primary function, these classes contain: 1) the names of most trees - of which the names of the fruits, if any, are found in classes 5 and 6.

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics par. 88.

- 2) The names of a number of things characterised by length.¹
- 3) The names of a number of parts of the body.
- 4) The names of atmospheric phenomena.
- 5) The names of many miscellanea.
- 6) Deverbative nouns of these classes, formed with terminative -o. When derived from the basic stem of the verb, they indicate the result or instrument of the action.
- 7) Deverbative nouns derived from the applied stem, and indicating the manner of action. In the case of transitive verbs, such nouns may be formed from the applied passive species, and indicate manner of being acted upon. In addition to the plural in class 4, these nouns have another in class 6 with prefix ma- in secondary function with somewhat different significance. The process of forming these nouns is a living one.

e.g.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------|
| 1) muti (tree) | miti |
| mukuyu (fig tree) | mikuyu |
| muhuyu (baobab tree) | mihuyu |
| muzhanje (wild loquat) | mizhanje |
| mundimu (citrus tree) | mindimu |
| 2) mupini (handle) | mipini |
| mutanda (log) | mitanda |
| museve (arrow) | miseve |
| mubada (stick) | mibada |
| mugwagwa (road) | migwagwa |
| mukosi (string) | mikosi |
| 3) musoro (head) | misoro |
| muswe (tail) | miswe |
| munwe (finger) | minwe |
| musana (back) | misana |
| muviri (body) | muviriri |

1. One of the significances of class 11 is also that of length. Some nouns which, in the Central Shona dialects, are found in class 11, are, in the Eastern dialects, in class 3. Cp. ruoko (arm) (11) Ze. with muoko (arm) (3) Ndau.

4) mḡando (wet weather, breeze)	mḡando	
mḡedzi (moon)	mḡedzi	
mḡaka (year)	mḡaka	
musi (day)	misī	
mukore (year)	mikore	
musanya (season, time)	misanya	
mḡea (air, soul)	mḡea	
cp. mudzimu (shade of ancestor)	midzimu	
mumvuri (shadow)	mimvuri	
5) musha (village)	misha	
munda (field)	minda	
mukono (male)	mikono	
mutowo (custom)	mitowo	
6) musungo (string)	misungo	cp. -sunga (tie)
mufaro (joy)	mifaro	-fara (rejoice)
muero (amount)	miero	-era (measure)
7) muridziro (way of playing an instrument)		cp. -ridzira (play for)
muridzirwo (way of being played)		-ridzirwa (be played for)
muvakiro (way of building)		-vakira (build for)
muvakirwo (way of being built)		-vakirwa (be built for)

There are two plurals of class 3 nouns in this category, in classes 4 and 6 respectively. The first indicates different ways of performing the action, the second, with prefix in secondary function, indicates different instances or parts of what is one prolonged action, or the way of doing the action taken as a whole. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the use of the class 6 form from that of the singular.

e.g. miridziro (different ways of playing, different dances)
maridziro (different instances of the same dance)
muvakiro (different ways of building)
mavakiro (building operations)

138. The prefix of class 3 in secondary function: Prefix mu- is prefixed to class 21 nouns to indicate monstrosities of size. It is considered very insulting unless it be the expression of a somewhat exacting sense of humour. It does not seem to be widely used.

e.g. muzijembere (monstrosity of an old woman) cp.
cembere (old woman) (9)

muzidumbu (monstrosity of a stomach,
or womb) nhumbu
(stomach, womb) (9)

muzirume (monster of a male) murume
(man) (1)

The only plural form I have met is given in Marconnès,
par. 138, viz. mizidumbu. Cp. parr. 91 and 431.

139. Table of concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>		<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 1: mu-	<u>Str:</u>	mu- ¹	wo- ²	wa- ²	u- ²	-u-	
	<u>Wk:</u>	u-					
Class 2: mi-	<u>Str:</u>	mi- ¹	yo- ²	ya- ²	i- ²	-i-	
	<u>Wk:</u>	i-					

140. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Muti wangu mukuru uri kutemba; ndicautengesa (My big tree
is being cut down; I will sell it).
Miti yangu mikuru iri kutemba; ndicaitengesa (My big trees
are being cut down; I will sell them).
Tinogara paMuti-mumbe (We live at One-Tree).
Ari kusima miti mimbe (He is planting some trees).
Acapisa muti wose (He will burn the whole tree).
Uacapisa miti yose (They will burn all the trees).

-
1. For the significance of the terms strong and weak,
and for the incidence of these two types of enumerative
concord, cf. par. 325.
 2. These are the basic forms and are subject to the
phonological changes mentioned in the footnote to Par.120.

. Classes 5 and 6

141. The prefix of class 5 is [ri-].

The prefix of class 6 is ma-.

The class 5 prefix is placed in square brackets to indicate that it now never appears as such. That we are justified in supposing it to have been ri- at one time seems clear from the concords which nouns of this class govern - in particular the subject and object concords ri- and -ri-, and the enumerative concord ri- - and from the forms this prefix assumes in other Bantu languages,

e.g. Xhosa li- (with monosyllabic stems)
 Sotho le-
 Tsonga ri- (with monosyllabic stems)
 Sena li-
 Venda li-
 [^]

The only trace that remains today of the former presence of this prefix lies in the voicing of certain initial unvoiced phones of stems. These appear as voiced in class 5 and unvoiced in class 6.

e.g. the noun stem -panga. Prefix [ri-] + -panga > ɓanga (knife), whereas prefix ma- + -panga > mapanga (knives).

This process of voicing is restricted to the following initial phones of stems: p, t, k, c, ts, and pf, which last, however, only occasionally obeys the rule. Stems beginning with other sounds appear in class 5 without change, and without any sign of the former presence of the prefix.

Examples of voicing:

Initial <u>p</u> > <u>ɓ</u>	Cp. mapadza (hoes)	and	ɓadza
<u>t</u> > <u>d</u>	matama (cheeks)		dama
<u>k</u> > <u>g</u>	makore (hills)		gore
<u>c</u> > <u>ɟ</u>	macira (cloths)		jira
<u>ts</u> > <u>dz</u>	matsatsatša (hairy spiders)		dzatsatša
<u>pf</u> > <u>bv</u> ¹	mapfupa (bone)		bvupa

1. But in the majority of cases, initial pf- of the noun stem appears unchanged in class 5, e.g. pfiwa (hearth-stone) (5)
pfundo (joint) (5)

142. Variant forms of the prefixes: 1) Some stems which are vowel-commencing when they appear in other classes, here commence in z-, or, while being vowel-commencing even here in class 6, have alternative forms commencing in z-. This consonant is, probably, the form which the Ur-Bantu consonants ɣ and ɣ have taken in Shona in this position and it has been retained here; but elsewhere it has been elided.

e.g.

<u>Class 5</u>	<u>Class 6</u>	<u>Other Cls.</u>	<u>Ur-Bantu stem</u>
zano (plan)	mazano / mano	ngano (fable) (9)	-ɣano (fable)
zanza (handful)	mazanza	canza (palm) (7)	-ɣaŋga (palm)
zambuko (ford)	mazambuko	kuambuka (to ford)(15)	-ɣambuka (change contact)
zero (age)	mazero	muero (a- mount)(3)	-ɣela (measure)
ziso (eye)	maziso / meso		-ɣîko (eye)
zino (tooth)	mazino / meno		-ɣîno (tooth)
zuro (yes- terday)	-/mauro (evening)		-ɣulo (evening, yesterday)

Note that in the case of meso (eyes) and meno (teeth), the vowel a of the class 6 prefix has coalesced with the initial vowel of the stem. In the case of mano (plans) or the reduplicated form mano mano (lies), the vowel a of the prefix has been elided.

2) Some nouns of these classes are of monosyllabic stem. They assume, but not in Ka, a prothetic i- in class 5. This vowel not being part of the stem, disappears in class 6.

e.g. ido (spot)	mado
igo (wasp)	mago
idi (truth)	-
ibvi (knee)	mabvi
ibge (stone)	mabge
igwa (boat)	magwa
ina (chap)	mana
ivu (soil)	mavu
izwi (word)	mazwi
ishe (piece of grass from the nest-lining of a mouse)	mashe (nests, nest-lining)

The following are found only in class 6:

mate (spittle)
mafe (grudge)
masu (tassles)

Class 6 is the normal plural of class 5.

143. With prefixes in primary function, nouns in these classes may be grouped under the following heads:

- 1) Things usually found in pairs, numbers or bulk.
- 2) Types of country or landscape.
- 3) Times and seasons.
- 4) Persons and things inspiring fear.
- 5) Miscellanea.
- 6) Nouns with deverbative stems with the terminative -o.

When derived from the basic stem of the verb, they indicate the instrument or result of the verbal action.

- 7) Nouns derived from the applied stem, and implying the place where an action is done.

e.g. 1) damba (kaffir orange) matamba
zhanje (wild loquat) mazhanje
dama (cheek) matama
gumbo (leg) makumbo
zazu (lung) mazazu

The following class 6 examples in this significance have a special quantitative meaning. Some of them have, indeed, no singular form.

mafuta (oil)	cp. pfuta (oil bean) (9)
mafuru (froth)	furu (froth)
madzihwa (mucus)	dzihwa (cold)
maropa (menses)	ropa (blood)
mate (spittle)	rute (thin saliva) (11)
mapere (leprosy)	--
matumbo (bowels)	--
maciwi (garden rubbish)	--
madewere (ground-nut oil)	--
madabga-dabga (thin porridge)	--

2) jiri (clump of wild fruit trees)	maciri
sango (wooded country)	masango
sani (flat country)	mapani
dunhu (upland)	matunhu
dondo (bush country)	matondo
ginga (thicket)	mapinga

The following nouns in this significance, some of them compound, are usually found only in class 6 without singular form.

materu (a downward slope)	
mawere (precipice)	
mafura-mhepo (open country) cp.	-fura (blow)
	mhepo (wind) (9)
mabva-zuva (the East)	-bva (come from)
	zuva (sun) (5)
madokero (the West)	-dokera (go down at)
maodza-nyemba (the West)	-odza (rot)
	nyemba (beans) (9)

Cp. the deverbatives

mafuro (pastures)	-fura (graze)
mawiro (falls, confluence)	-wira (fall into)

- 3) zuva (day, sun)
gore (year, cloud)
zhizha (rainy season)

Many compound and derivative nouns in class 6 signify times of the day:

maririra-ngwe (before dawn) cp.	-rira (sound)
	ingwe (leopard) (9)
mashamba-nzou (-do.-)	-shamba (wash)
	nzou (elephant) (9)
maramba-kuedza (-do.-)	-ramba (refuse)
	-edza (dawn)
mafura-mushana (-do.-)	-fura (graze)
	mushana (small mouse) (3)
mamba-kuedza (after dawn)	-vamba (begin)
	-edza (dawn)
mazamba-mbira (-do.-)	-zambira zuva (bask in the sun)
	mbira (dassie) (9)
marira-kuedza (after dawn)	-rira (sound)
	-edza (dawn)
mangwana-ngwana (sunrise)	
mangwanani (morning)	
masikati (full day)	
maneru (evening)	
mauro (late evening)	
mazarira-mombe (evening) op.	-zarira (shut in)
	mombe (cattle) (9)

Cp. mangwana (tomorrow)

marimpe-zuro (day before yesterday)	
makei (last year)	
madzia (hot season)	-dzia (be warm)
maguta (season of plenty)	-guta (become sated)

4. Bunu (Afrikaner) maBunu
Dziti (Nguni) maDziti
bere (hyena) mapere
garwe (crocodile) makarwe
cp. ruro (wild person) marura cp. -rura (be untamed)

5. jaya (young man) majaya
sunha (young girl) mapunha
duri (mortar) maturi
gumi (ten) makumi
zana (hundred) mazana

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 6) | jeko (sickle) | maceko | cp. -ceka (cut) |
| | 6opoto (noise) | mapopoto | -popota (quarrel) |
| 7) | 6ikiro (cooking place) | ma6ikiro | -6ikira (cook at) |
| | dizi-ro (refuge) | matizi-ro | -tizira (flee to) |
| | jerero (digging place) | macerero | -cerera (dig at) |
- cp. pajerero pangu (my habitual haunt)

144. Nouns of classes 5 and 6 with prefixes in secondary function may be grouped as follows:

- 1) Augmentatives of first degree for stems other than those of class 5. Noun stems found in primary association with prefix [ri-] form augmentatives in class 21 which, with regard to other stems, forms augmentatives of second degree. Nouns in class 21 form their plurals in class 6 with prefix ma- in secondary function and preprefixed to zi-.

Nouns normally in class 14 form augmentatives with ma- in secondary function as preprefix.

- 2) People or things regarded with fear, dislike or hostility. This significance is probably a subdivision of the augmentative.

Note that [ri-] in secondary function can only act as a substitute prefix, but cp. the noun gwenda-kwenda (coming and going) in which the class 15 prefix itself is, unusually, voiced.

- 3) In class 6, things or people regarded as numerous and grouped into a collection. Further, material assembled in a large amount or quantity, or a manner of action repeated, cumulative or made up of subsidiary processes.

The latter category is composed of deverbatives and forms a multial plural for class 3 nouns formed with deverbative applied stem.

e.g. 1)

1) [ri-], ma- as substitute prefixes.

Augmentatives of first degree.

buka (large beast)	mapuka	cp. mhuka (beast) (9)
jembere (large old woman)	macembere	cembere (old woman) (9)
gwasha (large son-in-law)	makwasha	mukwasha (son-in-law) (1)
denda (fever)	matenda	nhenda (sickness) (9)
sikana (large girl)	masikana	musikana (girl) (1)

ii) ma- as a preprefix.

a) Plurals of class 21, which are augmentatives of noun stems normally in class 5.

mazipanga (big, unwieldy knives)	cp. banga (knife) (5)
mazipere (big hyenas)	bere (hyena) (5)

Plurals of class 21, which are augmentatives of second degree.

mazipuka (huge beasts)	zibuka (huge beast)
mazicembere (huge old woman)	zijembere (huge old woman)
mazikwasha (huge son-in-law)	zigwasha (huge son-in-law)
mazitenda (vicious fevers)	zidenda (vicious fever)
mazisikana (huge girls)	zisikana (huge girl)

b) Augmentatives of class 14

mahuswa (tall grass)	cp. huswa (grass)
mahusiku (long nights)	husiku (night, nights)

- 2) Giwa (European) maKiwa cp. muKiwa (European) (1)
gwasha (bad son-in-law) makwasha mukwasha (son-in-law) (1)
maRozi (the Rozi)
maMbire (the Mbire)
etc.

3) 1/ Collections

mamisha (groups of villages)	cp. misha (villages) (4)
mamhuka (collections of game)	mhuka (game) (10)
madzibaba (ancestors)	baba (father) (1a)
madzimai (mothers)	amai (mother) (2a)

11/ Large amounts.

mahuswa (much grass)	cp. huswa (grass) (14)
mamvura (much water)	mvura (water) (9)
mahuci (much honey)	huci (honey) (14)
masadza (large lumps of mealie porridge)	sadza (mealie porridge) (5)

111/ Cumulative way of action.

mafiro (way of dying)	cp. -fira (die for)
mašisiro (way of taking away)	-šisira (take for)
macambiro (way of beginning)	-vambira (begin for)
maziwirwo (cognoscibi- lity)	-zivira (know for)
mašatsiro (utility)	-šatsira (help)
magariro (way of life)	-garira (live at)

In Ka. these nouns have terminative -e.

e.g. magariire (way of life).

145. Table of concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>		<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 1:	[ri-]		ri-	ro- ²	ra- ²	ri- ²	-ri-
Class 2:	ma- <u>Str:</u> <u>Wk:</u>		ma- ¹ a-	o- ²	a- ²	a- ²	-a-

146. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Bangu rangu guru rinoceka; ndinorisevenzesa (My big
knife cuts; I use it).
Mapanga angu makuru anoceka; ndinoasevenzesa (My big
knives cut; I use them).
Ndinoda banga riŋne cete (I want one knife).
Ndinoda mapanga mamŋe (I want other knives).
Banga rose nderohutare (The whole knife is of iron).
Mapanga ose ndaohutare (All the knives are of iron).

1. For the significance of the terms strong and weak and the distribution of these concords cf. par. 325.
2. These are the basic forms of the concords which are subject to the phonological changes mentioned in the note to par. 120.

The prefix of class 7 is ci- before stems beginning in a consonant and before deverbative stems beginning in a vowel.

It is c- before non-deverbative stems beginning in a vowel.

The prefix of class 8 is zi- or z- under the same conditions as those under which that of class 7 is ci- or c-.

The prefixes appear in the form ca-, za- in a limited number of examples, in some of which these forms are alternative to the normal forms.

Class 8 is the normal plural form of class 7.

148. Variant forms of the prefixes: 1) Before non-deverbative stems beginning in a vowel, the prefixes ci- and zi- become respectively c- and z-, the vowel i being elided in both cases.

e.g. canza (flat hand)	zanza	cp. zanza (handful) (5)
cando (cold)		mpando (wet weather) (3)
cao (palm of hand)	zao	
caoo (temple)	zaoo	
cara (thumb)	zara	zara (big thumb) (5)
cengu (roan antelope)	zengu	
cese (edge of spear blade)	zese	
cedza (sun-flash)		-edza (dawn)
(moon-beam)		
cenze (mane)	zenze	zenze (mane) (5)
cengo (wall)	zengo	
coto (hearth)	zoto	moto (fire) (3)
coya (pubic hair)		
condo (fetlock)	zondo	
cuma (bead, wealth)	zuma	
curu (ant-heap)	zuru	juru (white ant) (5)
cura (frog)	zura	zura (big frog) (21)

Before vowel commencing deverbative stems there is juxtaposition of the vowels of the prefixes and the stem,

e.g. cienzaniso (measure)	zienzaniso	cp. -enzanisa (equalise)
ciito (deed)	ziito	-ita (do)
ciono (view)	ziono	-ona (see)
ciudzo (instruction)	ziudzo	-udza (advise)

2) In certain nouns of classes 7 and 8, the prefixes ca- and za- appear as alternative to ci- and zi-; in certain other cases, ca- and za- are the only forms found.¹

e.g. (only the class 7 forms are given)

cipungu / capungu (type of eagle)	
cikwindi / cakwindi (moss)	
cipfudu / capfudu (yolk of egg)	
cipupu / capupu (witness)	cp. -pupura (witness)
cienga / caenga (potsherd)	
cinduru / cāduru (gall bladder)	-nduru (gall) (9)
cihuve / cahuve (mildew)	huve (large mushroom) (9)
cimembe / camembe (the East)	membere (an east wind) (9)

The prefixes of the last three entries are in secondary function as preprefixes. So are the prefixes of the following:

capfiwa (a prop)	cp. pfiwa (hearth-stone) (5)
cadenga (space bounded by the sky)	denga (sky) (5)
cavuvu (gust of wind)	-vuvuta (blow)
cadzera (the gloaming)	

The prefix ca-, in association with mu-, forms nouns from ideophones, e.g. camupupuri (whirlwind); cp. pupuri (of whirling wind) Cf. derivative nouns, par. 237.

1. In Nguni, the same phenomenon occurs. Certain nouns have isi-/isa-, izi-/iza- as alternative prefixes; others have only isa- and iza-.

e.g. isikhono/isakhono (strength of arm) cp. umkhono (forearm)
 isamfazi (one like a woman) umfazi (woman)
isa- is also a deideophonic noun prefix:
 e.g. isampu (distended stomach) cp. mpu (of being replete)

This information is from Mr. A. C. Jordan, M.A. Cp. Doke, Zulu, Parr. 117-8.

149. With prefixes in primary function, the nouns of classes 7 and 8 may be grouped according to the following significances:

- 1) material objects and instruments, including the word for 'thing'.¹
- 2) incomplete, deformed, undersized, worthless objects; the names of many sicknesses;
- 3) miscellanea.
- 4) Deverbative nouns, formed with the terminative -o from the basic stem of the verb, and indicating the instrument or result of the verbal action. This is a living process.
- 5) Some nouns formed from the passive species, retaining the passive ending, and indicating the product of an action.
- 6) Some nouns with terminative -o formed from the applied species indicating either instrument with which, or place where, an action is done.

e.g. 1) cinhu (thing)	zinhu
ciro (thing) Ka.	ziro
ciguŋu (water-bottle)	ziguŋu
dpepe (cap)	zipepe
ciŋo (razor)	ziŋo
cirongo (water pot)	zirongo
2) ciŋiŋi (cripple)	ziŋiŋi
cimumumu (dumb person)	zimumumu
cifeve (prostitute)	zifeve
cituna (corpse)	zituna
cirwere (sickness)	zirwere
cimhedu (half, part)	zimhedu

The following nouns are found in class 7 only without plural form:

cimata (stammering)
cigwendere (dog-sickness)
cikangire (madness)
cindarima (dog-sickness)
cimeme (goat-sickness)
ciueue (cramp)

1. This significance is the foundation for the indefinite use of the concords of this class.

e.g. cokudya (food, lit. something of to eat, of eating)
Une-cinokuvava (You have something which itches you; viz. you are looking for trouble).

3) ciremba (doctor)	ziremba	
cikomba (suitor)	zikomba	
ciradza (strong man)	ziradza	
cikara (carniverous animal)	zikara	
cipembere (rhinosceros)	zipembere	
cirawe (riddle)	zirawe	
4) cigaro (seat)	zigaro cp.	-gara (sit)
cibereko (cradle skin)	zibereko	-berekalbear)
cimuko (advantage)	zimuko	-muka (rise)
5) cisikwa (creature)	zisikwa	-sikwa (be made)
zikowiwa (crops)		-kowiwa (be reaped)
6) cirasiro (rubbish- dump)	zirasiro	-rasira (throw away)
cipotero (refuge)	zipotero	-potera (take refuge at)
cidziwiro (stopper)	zidziwiro	-dziwira (stop up)

150. With the prefixes in secondary function, these classes contain the following significances:

- 1) Short and stout things;
- 2) imperfect and defective things - things that fall short.
- 3) languages and styles.

In cases of superimposition of prefix, plural formation usually affects all the prefixes present.

e.g. 1) cikadzi (short and fat woman)	zikadzi ¹
cana (fat child)	zana
cimuti (short, stumpy tree)	zimiti
cimbudzi (short, stumpy goat)	zimbudzi
ciswa (bundle of grass)	ziswa
2) cimuti (bit of plank)	cp. muti (tree) (3)
(cisoro (the two severed	musoro (head) (3)
(cimuswe halves of a	muswe (tail) (3)
snake; lit.	
the head end,	
the tail end)	
cipanga (short, blunt knife)	ɓanga (knife) (5)
cirimi (lisp)	rurimi (tongue) (11)
cicembere (gossip)	cembere (old woman) (9)
cindebvu (ragged beard)	ndebvu (beard) (10)
zivana (naughty children)	vana (children) (2)

When quantities are dealt with, the plural prefix is used.

zísadza zakaipa (rotten mealie porridge)	sadza (porridge) (5)
zizuvá / zimazuvá (a few days)	zuva (day) (5)

1. Cp. mukadzi (woman) (1); mɓana (child) (1); muti (tree) (3); mbudzi (goat) (9); huswa (grass) (14).

e.g. (3) (Class 7 only)

cikadzi (woman fashion)
ciRungu (English language)
civanhu (the native language)
cirume (man fashion)

This significance provides the foundation for the use of concords and derivatives of this class and those of class 8 for adverbials of manner. Cp. zangu (in my fashion).

151. Table of concords.

	<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 7:	ci-	ci-	co- ¹	ca- ¹	ci- ¹	-ci-
Class 8:	zi-	zi-	zo- ¹	za- ¹	zi- ¹	-zi-

152. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Cigaro cangu citša cinobatsira; ndinocisebenzesa mazuba ose
(My new chair is useful; I use it every day).

Zigaro zangu zitša zinošatsira; ndinozisebenzesa mazuba ose
(My new chairs are useful; I use them every day).

Ndiri kutsaga cigaro cimne cete (I am looking for one chair).

Ndiri kutsaga zigaro zimne (I am looking for some chairs).

Eveni radya cibawe cose (The baboon ate all the maize).

Mapfeni adya zokudya zose (The baboons ate all the food).

1. These are the basic forms which are subject to the phonological changes mentioned in the footnote to Par.120.

153. The prefixes of both class 9 and 10 may be designated by the form N-.

The original forms of these prefixes are thought to have been ni- and li-ni respectively.¹ In Shona, the distinguishing element of the plural prefix, originally superimposed on the singular form, has disappeared almost completely, so that with the exception of one or two nouns with monosyllabic stems, the singular and plural forms are identical.

The prefix ni- of class 9 has in Shona, as in other Bantu languages, caused much phonological change in the initial phones of the stems to which it has been joined. Its vowel has everywhere disappeared, and the influence of the nasal consonant upon the initial phones of stems has resulted in new consonants and consonant-combinations, wherein the original prefix no longer appears as such, and which are now the initial phones of the class 9 and 10 nouns.

In some of these consonant-combinations the nasal has remained and has usually become homorganic to the initial phone of the stem to which it has been joined. In other resultant consonants and consonant-combinations the nasal has disappeared.

154. Summary of the influence of the nasal prefix upon the initial phones of stems;²

N- + unvoiced explosives:

N- + p > mh	e.g. mhasa (mats)	cp. rupasa (mat)(11)
+ t > nh	nhivi (sides)	rutivi (side)(11)
+ k > h	huni (wood)	rukuni (log)(11)

All three consonants are changed into the voiced glottal fricative h. In the first two cases, the nasal has

1. Cf. Meinhof-v. Warmelo, Bantu Phonology p.39.

2. Most of the material which I list here in summary form for the sake of completeness will be found in the fuller treatment by Doke, Shona Phonetics pp. 62 - 71.

become, and remained, homorganic to the initial phone of the stem which it has transformed into the voiced glottal fricative, forming with it a consonant combination. In the last case, instead of appearing in a form homorganic to the velar initial stem consonant, viz. ŋ-, it has been dropped.

155. N- + voiced explosives:

The only two cases I can find of this change are the following two words, both of which are almost certainly of foreign origin and which are very probably derived in the manner I have indicated.

N- + b > mb	e.g. mbanje (wild hemp)	cp. bhang ¹ (hemp)
		(Hindustani)
+ d > nd	ndarama (gold)	darahâm (pl. of dirham, the name of a coin in Arabic). ²

The nasal has become homorganic to the initial phones with which it forms consonant-combinations.

156. N- + implosives:

N- + ɓ > mb	e.g. mbereko (cradle)	cp. -ɓereka (carry skin)
		on the back)
d > nd	ndiki (small) (3)	-ɗiki (small)

In the resultant consonant-combination, the nasal has become homorganic to the initial phone of the stem which is now explosive.

157. N- + nasals:

N- + m	(No example found)	
m > n	e.g. nomɓe (seven) (3)	cp. -nomɓe (seven)
ny > ny	nyoro (soft) (3)	-nyoro (soft)
ŋ	(No example found)	

With initial phones that are nasal, the nasal prefix drops out.

-
1. Cf. Marconnes, par. 115.
 2. This is Professor Lestrade's derivation. He considers the Arabic word connected with the Greek δραχμή.
cp. Venda: ndalama (Conus shell, used as money)
 3. These are adjectival qualificatives of class 9. Since however, the adjectival concords are everywhere the same as the noun prefixes, they will serve, in the absence of other examples, to illustrate the morphology of class in these cases.
In Ka. and Ma, N- + d > d, e.g. huku doko (small fowl), cf. O'Neill, p. 76.

158. N- + the rolled consonant:

N- + r > nd¹ e.g. ndimi (tongues) cp. rurimi (tongue)(11)

In the resulting consonant-combination, the nasal has become homorganic to d, the dental consonant into which alveolar r has been changed.

159. N- + unvoiced fricatives:

N- + f > pf	e.g. pfungwa (thought)	cp. -funga (think)
	pfundo (knot) Ze.	cp. -funda (tie a knot)
+ f > f	fundo (knot) Ka.	-do.-
	fodya (tobacco)	folha (leaf)
		(Portuguese)
+ s > ts	tsero (winnowing baskets)	rusero (basket) (11)
+ s > s	surudzo (strainer)	-surudza (strain)
+ s > ts	tsingo (stone fortifications)	-rusingo (stone wall) (11)
+ s > s	sipa (black) ²	-sipa (black)
+ sh > sh	shaya (jaw bones)	rushaya (jaw bone) (11)

The nasal disappears leaving the initial phones unchanged, though, especially in Zezuru, the corresponding affricates sometimes appear.

160. N- + voiced fricatives:

N- + v > mb ³	e.g. mboni (pupil)	cp. -vona (see)
v ₄ > mv	mvuto (bellows)	-vuta (blow)
z ⁴ > nz	nzou (elephant)	-yovū (elephant) UrB.
	nzira (path)	-yila (path) UrB
z ₅ > mv	imvi (grey hair)	-vī (grey hair) UrB.
zh > zh	zhinji ² (marry)	-zhinji (marry)

In the resulting sounds the homorganic nasal⁶ forms a consonant-combination with the initial phone of the stem; and this initial phone is unchanged, save for -v which is plosivized.

1. In Ka. and some Ma., N- + r > r in adjectival stems commencing in r. e.g. imba refu (a tall house), cp. -refu (tall). Cf. O'Neil, p.76. But Buck, p.1x gives ndefu.
2. These are adjectival qualificatives. Cf. footnote to Par.156.
3. The resulting consonant-combination is the same in Ze. and in Ma. though the initial stem phone is elided in the former (-ona: see) and the velar semi-vowel in the latter (-wona: see).
4. One derivation of z is from UrB. y. Cp. UrB. -yiva (know) with -ziva (know).
In Ka. N- + z > zh, e.g. zhou (elephant): zhira (path).
5. z derives from UrB. vi. Cp. UrB. -vina (dance) with -zina (dance).
6. m is semi-homorganic in the combination mv.

161. N- + unvoiced affricates:

N- + pf > pf	e.g. pfuta (castor-oil plants)	cp. rupfuta (castor-oil plant) 11
ts > ts	tsara (row) ¹	rutsara (row) ⁽¹¹⁾
tʃ > tʃ	tʃuku (red) ¹	-tʃuku (red)
c > c	cena (white) ¹	-cena (white)

The nasal does not appear and there is no change in the initial phone of the stem.

162. N- + voiced affricates:

N- + bv > bv	e.g. bvumirano (agreement) ²	cp. -bvumirana (agree)
dz > dz	dziwiso (obstacle) ³	-dziwisa (hinder)
dʒ	(no example found)	
j	(no example found, though the prepalatal nasal occurs initially in combination with j in several examples. It is possible that j in the initial phone of the stems.	
	e.g. njiva (pigeon)	cp. -ɣiva (pigeon) UrB.
	njedzana (new moon)	-ɣelî (moon shine) UrB
	njere (cleverness)	-ɣela (measure)

-
1. These are adjectival qualificatives. Cf. footnote to 156.
 2. Given as a class 9 noun in Barnes, p.4, but elsewhere heard as class 5.
 3. Given as a class 9 noun in Doke, Shona Phonetics, p.120, but elsewhere heard as class 5.

163. N- + vowel stems:

N- + vowel > ny + vowel, the vowel of the prefix causing N- to become the prepalatal nasal.

The following examples can all be traced to Ur-Bantu stems, either commencing in the consonants ɣ or ɣ̣, or in a vowel. It is likely that the initial consonants were dropped here and that the following words are all now of vowel-commencing stems.

e.g. nyati (buffalo)	op. UrB. -ati (buffalo)
nyama (meat)	-ama (meat)
nyika (country)	-ika (country)
nyumba (house) Ma.	-umba (house)
nyanza (lake)	-ɣanza (lake)
nyambo (sayings)	-ɣamba (speak)
nyimbo (songs)	-ɣimba (sing)
nyuci (bee)	-ɣuki (honey)
nyenyedzi (star) ¹	-ɣeli (moonshine)
nyoka (snake)	-ɣoka / -oka (snake)
nyota (thirst)	-ɣota / -ota (thirst)

164. The following nouns in class 11 are of vowel commencing stems, but the plurals in class 10 probably incorporate the original stem-commencing ɣ or ɣ̣ in the combination nz < N- + ɣ / ɣ̣.

e.g. rwara (fingernail)	Class 10: nzara	cpUrB-ɣala (fingernail)
rwendo (journey)	nzendo	-ɣenda (go)
rwiyo (song)	nziyo	
rwizi (river)	nzizi	-iɣi (water)
rweŋga (frying-pan)	nzenza	

Cp. the class 9 nouns in Ze. and Ma. with their derivations from Ur-Bantu:

nzara (hunger)	Ka. zhara	op UrB -ɣala (hunger)
nzira (path)	zhira	-ɣila (way)
nzombe (bull)		-ɣombe (cattle)
nzou (elephant)	zhou	-ɣoɣu (elephant)
nzungu (groundnut)		-ɣuɣu (groundnut)

165. The following nouns in ŋg- and ŋ- seem to derive from stems in ɣ-. While there is some evidence for these stems having become vowel-commencing, the original consonants seem here to

1. The first syllable of the derived class 9 noun is reduplicated.

have been incorporated in the combination ng, or, in the case of initial n-, to have dropped out having caused N- to become n-.

e.g. ngano (fable)	cp.mano (plans) (6)	UrB.-yano (fable)
ngonda (lung sick- ness of cattle)	-onda (get thin)	-yonda (be thin)
ngoma (drum)		-yoma (drum)
ngpmqa (barren woman)		-yomua (be sterile)
ngurupe (pig)	ny	-yulupe (pig)
nguo (skin dress)	ny	-yua (cover)
ngonono (snore)		-yona (snore)
ngwe (leopard) Ka.		-ywi (leopard)
ngwena (crocodile)		-ywenya (crocodile)
nanga (doctor)	cp.hwanga (doctor's medicines)	UrB.-yanga (doctor)
nombe (cattle)		-yombe (cattle)
nonono (snore)		-yona (snore)

166. Yet other stems in Ur-Bantu y and y have combined with N- to produce nj-, while, elsewhere, these initial consonants have been elided.

e.g. njiri (warthog)		UrB.-yili (warthog)
njedzana (new moon)	cp.mpedzi (moon) (3)	(moon- shine)
njere (cleverness)	-era (measure)	-yela (measure)
njeni (strange one)	mjeni (stranger)	-yeni (strange)
njiwa (pigeon)		-yiwa (pigeon)

167. Class 10 is the normal plural form of nouns in class 9. In addition, it is a normal plural for nouns in class 11.

168. Variant forms of the prefixes:

There are several nouns with monosyllabic stems in these classes. In Ze. and Ma. they appear with prothetic i-.

e.g. imbga (dog)	imbga
inda (louse)	inda
ipxa (sugar-cane)	ipxa
ishwa (flying termites)	ishwa
itso (kidney)	itso
imba (house)	dzimba.

Note the two plurals dzimba (houses) and dzimbo (songs), cp. rumbo (song), which have the class 10 prefix. The characteristic part of the class 10 prefix, viz. dzi- occurs also in secondary function after preprefixes.

cp. vadzimai (mothers)
 madzishe (chiefs)
 Endayi mudzinzira dzonyu (Go in your several paths)

169. With the prefixes in primary function.

these classes contain the names of:

- 1) animals, birds and reptiles;
- 2) various kinds of people;
- 3) miscellanea including many every-day objects;
- 4) the enclitic interrogative noun -yi ? (what?)
- 5) Deverbative nouns which employ terminative -o and which refer to the instrument or result of verbal action.
- 6) Deverbative nouns with terminative -i, indicating an agent; those with the passive ending, the patient or product of the verbal action.

e.g. (The forms for classes 9 and 10 are identical)

- 1) shumba (lion)
 mbada (leopard)
 mhuka (animal, generally herbivorous)
 tsuro (hare)
 nyoka (snake)
 mombe (head of cattle)
 shiri (bird)
- 2) hama (relative)
 ngaga (diviner)
 mhizha (craftsman in iron)
 nyanzi (craftsman in wood or clay)
 pxere (baby)
 cirikadzi (widow)
- 3) mvura (water)
 nhumbi (goods, love-token)
 hari (pot)

 mhosa (case, fault)
 mhaka (fault, case, affair)
 nharo (quarrel, complaint)
 nhaka (inheritance)
 nhau (news, case)
 nyaya (news, complaint)
 nhema (false accusation, lie)
 nhando (lies, trifles)
 ndava (affair, case) cp. Nguni: indaba
 (case)

170. 4) The enclitic interrogative noun ¹(i)yi ?
 (what ?)

appears to belong to this class.

1. It appears as (i)nyi ? in Ma.

As an object, its latent initial vowel coalesces with the terminative -a of the verb it follows.

e.g. Unovingeyi ? (What have you come for?)

cp. -vinga (come for)

Wakarovereyi mukadzi wako kudaro ? (What did you beat your wife like that for ?)

cp. -rovera (beat for)

In negative phrases the initial vowel, as in the case of other nouns, and its interrogative significance, disappear.

e.g. asinayi caaitirimuka kwese (with nothing of which he was afraid at all).

But when used qualificatively in a compound noun, there is no vowel coalescence.

e.g. Wakauya nomugwagwayi ? (What road did you come by ?)
Tutsangayi-ko ? (What kind of small reeds then ?)
Rudziyi ? (What sort is it ?)

When used in combination with the nouns munhu (person) and mpuna (child) it often means: 'Of what sex ?')

e.g. munhuyi ? (a person of what sex ?) but also
(a person of what tribe; sort ?)
mpanayi ? (a child of what sex)

but cp. Muri pxereyi dzisingaite zineita vampe (What kind of children are you, not to do what others do ?)

As other nouns, so (i)vi ? is found functioning as a possessive qualificative stem, and as an adverbial stem for adverbial formatives. There is, in addition to the interrogative noun, an enumerative stem -yi ? (of what sort ?) Cf. par. 323.

- 5) mbezo (adze) cp. -veza (carve)
mhengo (madness) -penga (be mad)
- 6) mhedzi (consumer) cp. -pedza (finish)
mharadzi (dis-
turber) -paradza (disturb)
nhapxa (captive) -tapxa (be captured)
nhapxi (captive)
mhondwi (one who is executed) -pondwa (be executed)
pfungwa (thought) -funga (think)

171. The prefixes in secondary function:

1) As substitute prefixes in secondary function, those of classes 9 and 10 appear as nj-.

e.g. njedzana (new moon) cp. mgedzi (moon) (3)
 njeni (stranger) mgeni (stranger) (1)

2) The prefix of class 10 appears in the form dzi- in an infixed position after prefixes of both primary and secondary function. Nouns with this secondary prefix are distributive plurals.

Thus, the plurals of class 1a are in this form distinguished from the honorific with class 2a prefix alone in primary function.

e.g. vadzimai (several mothers)
 madzimai (several mothers)
 madziḡaḡa (several ancestors)
 madzisekuru (several grandfathers)

In other combinations also this prefix underlies the idea of plurality.

e.g. Garayi padzinzimbo dzenyu (Sit in your several places)

Munenge muciteyi mugere pamadzitare enyu ?
(What are you doing as you sit at your several council places ?)

Endayi mose kudziminda kwenyu (Go all of you to your several fields.)

Uapera kuenda mudziminda mawo (They have all gone into their various fields.)

Endayi mudzinzira dzenyu (Go ye in your different paths).

cp. panzimbo (at the places)
 pamatatare (at the council places)
 kuminda (to the fields)
 muminda (in the fields)
 munzira (in the paths)

172. Table of concords:

	Adj.	Enum.	Quant.	Poss.	Subj.	Obj.
			1	1	1	
Class 9:	N-	i-	yo-	ya-	i-	-i-
			1	1,	1	
Class 10:	N-	dzi-	dzo-	dza-	dzi-	-dzi-

173. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Imbga yangu huru iri kutanda shiri; ndaiona icimanya.

(My big dog is chasing a bird; I saw it running).

Imbga dzangu huru dziri kutanda shiri; ndadziona dzicimanya.

(My big dogs are chasing a bird; I saw them running).

Ndinoda kuvaka imba imbe cete (I want to build one house).

Ndinoda kuvaka dzimba dzimbe (I want to build some houses).

Imba yose ndeyevu (The whole house is of clay).

Dzimba dzose ndedzevu (All the houses are of clay).

Class 11.

174. The prefix of class 11 is ru- before all stems beginning with a consonant and before deverbative stems beginning with a vowel.

It is rw- before non-deverbative stems beginning with a vowel.²

175. There are two plural classes linked to class 11. The majority of class 11 nouns form plurals in class 10, but a number are found forming plurals in class 6.

In the case of the class 10 plurals, the initial phones of the stems are phonologically changed by the prefix according to the summary set out for classes 9 and 10. Occasionally the whole class 11 noun is made the stem for the plural in class 10.

e.g.	ndudzi (tribes)	cp.	rudzi (tribe, lineage)
	ndupi (palms of hand)		rupi (palm of the hand)
	ndwiyo (songs)		rwiyo (song)

While such nouns have, very probably, been confused with stems, the frequent use of preprefixes in Shona has doubtless been a contributory cause.

1. These are the basic forms which are frequently changed.
2. In Mari, this becomes Qw-, in accordance with the footnote to 120.

The plurals in class 6 are true plurals which differ from the singular form in number alone and do not import secondary significances belonging to secondary function.

176. Variant forms of the prefix: Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, the prefix ru-, except in one case rw-, the vowel, being semivocalized and preceded by the prevocalic fricative y.

e.g. rwana (thin, frail child)	cp. mwana (child) (1)
rwenga (frying pan)	cenga (potsherd) (7)
rwiriko (haft of spear)	nziriko (10)
twizi (river)	nzizi 9(10)
cp gwizi (river) Mari	nzizi (10)

There is, however, no change in the example:

ruoko (hand, arm)	cp. Ka. ruoko
	UrB -yoko (arm)

When prefixed to vowel-commencing deverbative stems, there is juxtaposition of the vowels of prefix and stem, except in one case.

e.g. ruedzo (long-maintained attempt)	cp. -edza (try)
ruipo (badness)	-ipa (be bad)
ruondo (leanness)	-onda (get lean)

But the deverbative noun rwendo (journey) agrees with the non-deverbative nouns in the semi-vocalization of the vowel of the prefix.

177. With prefixes in primary function, this class contains:

- 1) the names of many long, thin things;
- 2) the names of many times of the day. These are usually deverbative and compound.
- 3) Deverbative nouns with terminative -o, indicating actions that persist in time, as well as enduring habits.

e.g. 1) rukuni (log)	huni (firewood)
rutsanga (reed)	tsanga
runyatso (teat)	nyatso
rusara (row)	tsara
rumbabvu (Rib)	mbabvu

The following are examples of nouns of this class forming plurals in class 6.

ruware (flat rock)	maware
rukura (deserted garden)	makura

1. For a treatment of the velars that intrude between certain consonant and the following semi-vowel, cf. par. 82. In Mari ru > gw, the intrusive velar ousting the preceding consonant and y becoming semi-vocalized.

ruoko (arm)	maoko
nigware (book-	magwaro
ruqwaio letter)	

2)

rufura-mhembge (about 5 a.m.)	cp. -fura (graze)
	mhembge (.duiker) (9)
runya-nhiriri (about 5 a.m.)	-nya (excrete)
	nhiriri (wild-cat) (9)
rungwana-ngwana (about 6 a.m.)	
or sunrise)	
rungwanani (about 6.30 a.m.)	
rudziya-kamge (about 8 a.m.)	-dziya (be warm)
	kamge (once)
ruzamba-mbira (early morning)	-zambira zuva (bask in the sun)
	mbira (rock-rabbits)
rukunguvira (dusk)	
rukunzi-kunzi (dusk)	
rubvunza-vaeni (dusk)	-bvunza (ask)
	vaeni (strangers)
rumera (early summer)	-mera (sprout)

3) rudado (impudence)	cp. -dada (be proud)
rušo (kleptomania)	-ša (steal)
runako (goodness)	-naka (be good)

The prefix ru- may function as an alternative
1
to ka- as an adverbial formative of degree. It is more
characteristic of Ka. than of the other dialects in this
function.

e.g. rungani ? (how many times?) cp -ngani (how many ?)
kangani ? (how many
times) Ze.

ruviri (Twice)	-viri (two)
	kaviri (twice) Ze.

1. For a treatment of these adverbial formatives, cf.
par 902.

178. Nouns with the prefix ru- in secondary function indicate :

long, thin things. When persons are involved, they are indicated as lean and emaciated etc.

e.g.

rupuka / rumhuka (thin animal without much meat)	cp mhuka (game animal) (9)
rucembere (thin, frail old woman)	cembere (Old woman) (9)
rupanga (thin, light knife)	ɓanga (knife) (5)
ruswa (a piece of grass)	huswa (grass) (14)
rukore (lightning, long cloud)	gore (cloud) (5)
ruhwahwa (weak beer)	hwahwa (beer) (14)

ru- is used as an infix in the following examples :

sarumai (great-grandmother)	cp. amai (mother) (2a)
sarumbuya (mother of great-grandmother)	ambuya (grand-mother) (2a)
vasarumbuya navasarumai (all distant female relations by blood)	

179. Table of concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u> 1	<u>Poss.</u> 1	<u>Subj.</u> 1	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 11	ru-	ru-	rwo-	rwa-	ru-	-ru-

180. Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Rukova rwaɓo rukuru ruzere; ndakaruona (Their big river is full; I saw it).

Tiri rudzi^{sumɓe}/cete (We are one lineage)

Rudzi rwoɓe vaRozi (The whole tribe are Rozi)

-
1. These are the basic forms which undergo changes according to the processes mentioned in the footnote to 120.

Classes 13 and 12

181. The prefix of class 13 is ka- before all stems beginning with a consonant and before deverbative stems beginning with a vowel. It is k- before non-deverbative stems beginning with a vowel.

The prefix of class 12 is, respectively, tu- and tw- under the same circumstances.

The normal plural form of class 13 nouns is in class 12. But in Ko., some dialects use class 14 as the plural of class 13. The prefix here consists of an unvoiced glottal fricative + u : hu-.

182. Variant forms of the prefix: Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, prefixes ka- and tu- > k- and tw- respectively, the vowel of ka- being elided and the vowel u of tu- being semi-vocalized and preceded by the unvoiced velar fricative.

e.g. kana (small offspring) twana

183. The prefixes of classes 13 and 12 are used only in secondary function. Nouns with these prefixes all signify small things. Usually these are regarded in a favourable light as pleasing to the eye, but sometimes the effect of these diminutives may be derogatory when the prefixes are used with a stem which otherwise indicates something large or important.

In class 12 some nouns indicate a small quantity where the stems are indicative of substances.

3.	
e.g. kamunhu (small person)	op. munhu (person) (1)
kanhu (small thing)	
kamurume (small man)	murume (man) (1)
karume (small male)	
kamjana (small child)	mjana (child) (1)
kana (small offspring)	
kagaro (small stock, butt)	garo (butt) (5)
kacigaro (small seat),	cigaro (seat) (7)
karurimi (small tongue)	rurimi (tongue) (11)
karimi (small impediment in speech)	cirimi (impediment in speech) (7)
kamuti (small tree)	muti (tree) (3)
kamusha (small village)	musha (village) (3)
kago (small wasp)	igo (wasp) (5)
kambga (small dog)	imbga (dog) (9)

kacingwa (small loaf)	cingwa (bread) (7)
kapuka (small creature)	
kamhuka (small animal)	mhuka (animal) (9)
tukara twesango (all the	4.
dangerous wild life	
of the veld)	cp. cikara (wild beast)

-
1. Class prefix ou- of class 14, (Ka.) is the plural diminutive prefix in the Mari dialect of Ka. There class 13 is not used but is replaced by class 19.
 2. I infer that the vowel of the class 13 prefix is elided because of the constant elision of the prefixal vowel in other cases. Cp. 47.
 3. Cp. the introductory remarks on substitution and super-imposition of prefixes in 110. In substitution, the noun stem undergoes the diminutive meaning, in superimposition the more precise noun.
 4. Cp. the following diminutives similarly indicating dangerous carnivorous animals.

Ng. isilwana (dangerous beast	cp. isilo (beast of prey)
of prey) (7)	
So. sebatana (do.)	(7) sebata (do.)
Kl. ciwandana(do.)	(7) ciwanda{do.)

The plurals of the afore-mentioned are formed by changing the singular prefixes into the paired plural forms:

e.g. tuvanhu (small people)
tundimi (small tongues) etc.

Small quantities:

tufodya (a little tobacco)	cp. fodya (tobacco) (9)
tumvura (a little water)	mvura (water) (9)
tufuta (a little fat)	mafuta (fat) (6)
tuhuswa (a little grass)	huswa (grass) (14)
tumate (a little saliva)	mate (saliva) (6)

184.

The concords of classes 13 and 12:

	Adj.	Enum.	Quant.	Poss.	Subj.	Obj.
			1	1	1	
Class 13	ka-	ka-	ko-	ka-	ka-	-ka-
			1	1	1	
Class 12	tu-	tu-	two-	twa-	tu-/twu--tu-	

185.

Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Kampana kangu kadiki kari kucema; ndiri kukanzwa (My little child is crying; I hear it).
Tuvana twangu tudiki turi kucema; ndiri kutunzwa (My little children are crying; I hear them).
Ndinakampana kampe cete (I have one little child).
Kari kose kampana kanocema (Every small child cries).
Turi twose tuvana tunocema (All small children cry).

-
1. These are the basic forms which undergo phonological changes as noted in the footnote to 120.

Class 14.

186. The prefix of class 14 varies according to the dialect-groups. In Ze. it is hu- before monosyllabic stems, but before non-monosyllabic stems commencing in a consonant, it varies with speakers, being sometimes hu-, sometimes u-. In Ma. and Ko. it appears to be usually u-, though in the latter dialect-group, the class prefix hu- is used by some as plural to class 13. In this form the consonant is the unvoiced glottal fricative. In the Ka. dialect-group, the prefix is vu-.

Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, the prefix is hw- in Ze., Ma. and Ko., but bg- in Ka.^{1.}

Class 14 is, properly, neither singular nor plural. It contains many nouns that have no number and others which may be either singular or plural. Many nouns in class 14 assume class 6 prefix in secondary function to form collective or multial plurals.

187. Variant forms of the prefix: Before non-deverbative stems commencing in a vowel, the prefix becomes hw- in Ze, Ma., and Ko., but bg- in Ka. In the first case, the vowel of the prefix is semi-vocalized, in the second the consonant of the prefix is explosivized and the vowel consonantalized, being turned into ^aprevelar & fricative. In one alternative form, the vowel of the prefix is elided.

e.g. hwana (childhood)	Ka. bgana	cp.mmana (child) (1)
hwahwa (beer)		
hwasha (cave opening)		
hwema (scent)	bgema	
hwowa (mushrooms)	bgowa	
alt. howa		
hwanga (medicines)	bganga	nanga (doctor) (9)

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics pp.92 and 94, note 1. Also the entries in the comparative vocabularies for the words : grass, life and beer.

With vowel-commencing stems in deverbatives, there is juxtaposition of vowels:

hui ^h pi (evil)	cp.	-ipa (be evil)
huenderera (progress)		-enderera (go on and on)

188.

With the prefix in primary function, nouns in class 14 contain the following significances:

- 1) Substances;
- 2) certain singular objects;
- 3) abstractions consisting of nouns formed with deverbative stem. These have various terminatives - -i, -o and -e. Those with terminative -i indicate qualities or states which seem to be regarded as possessed subjectively or which are principles of activity; those with terminative -o are regarded objectively or as results.

e.g. 1) huci (honey)
hupfu (flour)
hurwa (pus)
hwahwa (beer)
hutsi (smoke)
hura (bowels)

Probably the following nouns ought to be included under this significance:

huma (haze)
husiku (night)
hutonga (red dawn)

These nouns may superimpose class 6 prefix in secondary function to indicate a considerable quantity.

e.g. mahuswa (much grass / tall grass)
mahwahwa (much beer)
mahuci (much honey)

- 2) huso (face)
huta (bow and arrows)
husasi (net)
hurunge (stone for smoothing pots)
hurungano (round object)
hurungudu (round stone)
huzhwa (jugular vein)
hudyu (hipbone)
huriri (bed)

These nouns, and some of those in the previous significance, may be used in the plural without change of form, but with qualificatives indicating plurality.

- e.g. huso hwenyu (your faces)
 huswa hutatu (three blades of grass)
 husiku hutatu (three nights)

Certain nouns indicating objects substitute ma- for hu- in the plural. Here ma- seems to be in primary function.

hutate (bow)	pl. matate	
hutano (ladder)	matano	
hukano (battle axe)	makano	
3) huroyi (sorcery)	op. -roya (bewitch)	
huipi (evil)	-ipa (be evil)	
hururami (justice)	-rurama (be straight)	
hunyopori (immorality)	-nyopora (be immoral)	
hucenjeri (prudence)	-cenjera (be wise)	
husimbarari (perseverance)	-simbarara (endure)	
hutumji (mission)	-tumja (be sent)	
hubatwi (captivity)	-batwa (be held)	
huneto (tiredness)	-neta (get tired)	
hururamo (justice)	-rurama (be straight)	
hungwaro (wisdom)	-ngwara (be clever)	
hurwere (sickness)	-rwara (be sick)	
humharadze (desire to alienate)	-paradza (scatter)	

189.

With the prefix in secondary function, the following significances occur in this class:

- 1) Abstract essences.
- 2) Places.

Class 14 is a variant of class 12 in Ko. and is the plural of class 19 in the Mnari dialect of Ka.

e.g. 1) hukama (kinship)	cp. hama (relative) (9)
hucece (babyhood)	mucece (small child) (1)
humqana (childhood)	mjana (child) (1)
husikana (virginity)	musikana (girl) (1)
hunhu (nobility of character)	munhu (person) (1)
huβaβa (fatherhood)	βaβa (father) (1a)
humai (motherhood)	mai (mother) (1a)
huhombarume (hunting qualities)	hombarume (successful hunter) (1a)
hudangwe (birthright)	dangwe (first-born) (5)
huharahwa (old age in men)	harahwa (old man) (9)
hucembere (old age in women)	cembere (old woman) (9)
huzima (selfhood)	UrB. -vima (stand)

The word huzima occurs in the phrase pahuzima (on my own).

2) huRozi (Roziland, i.e. the country round Bikita)	muRozi (a Rozi) (1)
humambo (kingdom)	mambo (chief) (1a)
ubva-zuva (East) Ka.	-bva (come from)
	zuva (sun) (5β)

1. Cp. mombe yohumai (the ox of the motherhood- that portion of the lobola which belongs to the bride's mother in person).

Plurals in class 14:

1. vungurwe (very small cp. ngurwe (pig) (9)
pigs)
2. humbudzi (tiny goats) mbudzi (goat) (9)

190.

The concords:

		<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
Class 14:	Ze.)			3	3	3	
	Ma.)	hu-	hu-	hwo-	hwa-	hu-	-hu-
	Ko.)			3	3	3	-
	Ka.	vu-	vu-	bgo-	bga-	vu-	-vu-

191.

Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Hushe hwako hukuru hunozoguma; vanozohugumisa (Your great kingdom will come to an end; they will finish it).

Vanotamba hasiku hwose (They dance the whole night)

Wakagara hasiku humbe cete (He stayed one night).

1. Louw, p.13

2. Doke, Shona Phonetics p.92

3. These are the basic forms which undergo the phonological changes mentioned in the footnote to 120.

Class 15.

192.

The prefix of class 15 is ku-.

Nouns of class 15 have no number.

The prefix is not altered by vowel-commencing stems.

e.g. kuipa (to be evil)

193.

The prefix is found only in primary function. Nouns of this class are all infinitives. Since the infinitive is both verbal and nominal in nature, nouns of class 15 exhibit characteristics of both verbs and nouns.

As nouns, members of this class have a prefix, govern concords and enter into nominal syntactical relationships. As verbs, they appear with specific verbal formatives, conjugational and concordial, and with the suffixes of the various derivative verbal species. They may also govern objects and be modified by descriptives.

This class, then, has one significance, all nouns in it indicating actions or states.

e.g. kuda (to love, loving)
kupa (to give, giving)
kufa (to die, dying)
kudya (to eat, eating)
kukora (to become fat, stoutness)
kuonda (to become lean, leanness)
kurwara (to be sick, sickness)

- with conjugational formative:

kusada (not to love, not loving) 6p.kuda (to love)

- with concordial formative:

kuvapa (to give to them) cp.kupa (to give)

- with causative suffix:

kudyisa (to feed, feeding) cp.kudya (to eat)

- with object:

kusetza vanhu (to amuse people)

- with descriptive:

kudyira muhari (to eat from a pot)

194.

The concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
			1	1	1	
Class 15:	ku-	ku-	kwo-	kwa-	ku-	-ku-

195.

Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Kukora kwake kukuru kunoshamisa; ndakuona (His great stoutness is astonishing; I saw it)
 Akafa nokufa kupi ? (By what death did he die ?)
 Akatipa kurarama kwose (He gave us all safety)

Classes 16, 17 and 18

196.

These classes may well be treated together since they are all locative in significance and have stems in common.

The prefix of class 16 is pa-.

That of class 17 is ku-.

That of class 18 is mu-.

These classes have no number and the form of the prefixes is constant.

197.

The prefixes in primary function. Certain stems are found in all these classes with prefixes in primary function.

Nouns of class 16 indicate position in place or time.

Nouns of class 17 indicate direction or vicinity, in place or time².

Nouns of class 18 indicate position within a space or time.

e.g. Class 16

pasi (down, the floor, the earth)
 padyo)
 patyo) (nearby) 3
 pakati (at the middle)
 panze (outside)
 paseri (behind)
 pashure)
 pasure) (this side of - between an object and the
 observer)
 pamberi (in front)

1. These are the basic forms which undergo the changes mentioned in the footnote to 120.
2. This significance is the basis for concords of this class being used in an indefinite sense of the weather. e.g. kunodzia (it is warm).
3. Ka. (Govera) has pedo. The forms padyo and petyo also occur. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics. The comparative vocabularies, entry: near.

e.g. Class 17

kure (far off)
kunze (outside)
kusi (underneath)
kuseri (behind)
kushure (this side of - between an object and the observer)
kumberi (in front)

Class 18

mukati (in the middle)
mushure (in the space between an object and the observer)

198.

The prefixes in secondary function: The prefixes are widely used in secondary function, prefixed to nouns of all classes except classes 1a and 2a. The same significances are observed. In the following examples, the nouns which function here as stems in secondary association are not widely used outside locative phrases involving either concords, or concords and prefixes, of classes 16-8.

e.g. pazasi (underneath)	cp. zasi (below) (5)
panyasi (underneath)	nyasi (below) (9)
pamhiri (at the other side)	mhiri (other side, bank) (9)
pajerero (habitual haunt "diggings")	jerero (digging place) (5)
pahuzima (by myself)	huzima (selfhood) (14)
pahuzuru (overhead)	huzuru (above) (14)
kutsi (underneath)	tsi (underneath) (9)
kunyasi (underneath)	nyasi (underneath) (9)
kuzasi (down below)	zasi (below) (5)
kumhiri (towards the other side)	mhiri (other side, bank) (9)
kuhuzuru (up above, in an upward direction)	huzuru (above) (14)
munyasi (in below)	nyasi (underneath) (9)
muhuzuru (in above)	huzuru (above) (14)
mukanwa (the mouth)	(Lamba: akanwa (mouth) (13))
muhamba (underside of beast)	(Nyanja: pakamwa (mouth) (16))
mutome (in the wrong way)	

The following stems are often used adverbially without the prefixes of classes 16-8. They govern concords of classes 16-8.

e.g. mberi kwangu (In front of me)
shure kwemba (at the back of the house - yet between me and the house)
seri kwemba (behind the house)

The following nouns are often used adverbially and qualified by words with class 16-8 concords:

e.g. zasi kwomunda (below the field)
 nyasi kwehari (at the bottom of the pot)
 mhiri kworukova (at the other side of the river)

cp. nyasi'yo (down there)
 mhiri ino (on this side)

Other examples:

panhu (a place)	munhu (person) (1)
kunhu (a direction, vicinity)	
pamba (at home)	imba (house) (9)
kumba (in the direction of home)	
mumba (in the house)	
pamusoro (on the head, on the top)	musoro (head) (3)
kumusoro (in the direction of the top)	
pamasikati (at midday)	masikati (midday) (6)
mumauro (in the evening)	mauro (evening) (6)
kumhepo (in a solitary place)	mhupo (wind) (9)
mumhutu (in the cheek)	mhutu (cheek) (9)

cp. kusekera mumhutu (to laugh up the sleeve)

199.

The nouns of these classes, while not themselves indicating motion, yet easily second ideas of motion to and from which are contained in verbs which they describe.

e.g. -bvisa pazamu (take from the breast): pazamu (at the breast)
 -dzoka kumba (return from home) : kumba (direction of home)
 -dzokera kumba (to return home)
 -dyira muhari (eat from the pot) : muhari (in the pot)

200.

Class 16-8 prefixes do not enter into secondary association with nouns of classes 1a and 2a. Instead, locative ideas connected with these nouns are expressed by qualificative pronouns, relative or possessive:

e.g. kwaSadza (at Sadza's) - a noun, eg. kumba, being understood
 kunaSadza (to Sadza; lit. to where Sadza is) - the noun kunhu being understood.

201.

The concords:

	Adj.	Enum.	Quant.	Poss.	Subj.	Obj.
			1	1	1	
Class 16	pa-	pa-	po-	pa-	pa-	-pa-
			1	1	1	
Class 17	ku-	ku-	kwo-	kwa-	ku-	-ku-
			1	1	1	
Class 18	mu-	mu-	mo-/mgo-	ma-/mja-	mu-	-mu-

- These are the basic forms which undergo phonological changes as mentioned in the footnote to 120. The forms mgo- (enumerative concord) and mja- (possessive concord) are found in Ma.

202.

Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Pamusha pake patša pakakwirira; ndinopaziwa, (At his new village it is high; I know it).

Anogara pampe (He lives elsewhere).

Pose paanofamba ndinopaziwa (I know wherever he goes).

Kumusha kwake kutša kunemhuka zhinji; ndinokuziwa (At his new village there are many animals; I know it).

Kumpe kwose kwaanogara anobva atandwa (He is chased away from every other place where he dwells).

Mumba mangu mutša munodzira (In my new house it is warm).

Anogara mumpe mumba; ndinomuziwa (He lives in another house; I know it).

Mumba mose munohutsi (In every house there is smoke).

When the stem of the class 16-8 noun is a noun itself, concords agreeing with it are alternative to concords of classes 16-8.¹

e.g. pamusha wake mutša (at his new village).

Class 19.

203.

The prefix of class 19 is si-, save before vowel-commencing non-deverbative stems, when it is s-.

This class occurs mainly in the Mari dialect of Ka. where the plural is provided by class 14.

The significance of these classes is that of diminutive things, usually animate. They replace, in this dialect, the more widely used classes 13 and 12.

204.

Variant forms of the prefix: Before vocalic stems of non-deverbative nouns, prefix si- > s-, the vowel being elided.

e.g. sana (small child) bgana

These prefixes with this significance are not used save in secondary function.

e.g. singuruve (small pig) vunguruve
simbudzi (small goat) vumbudzi

205.

The concords:

	<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Enum.</u>	<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
			2	2	2	
Class 19:	si-	si-	so-	sa-	si-	-si-

1. Cf. O'Neill, p.72.

2. These are the basic forms undergoing phonological changes as mentioned in the footnote to 120.

206.

Sentences illustrating the concordial agreement:

Şana şangu şitema şinogwara; ndinoşirapa (My small black child is sick; I will treat it).
Imbga dzadya şinguruce sose (The dogs ate a whole little pig).
Ndiri kutsaga şimbudzi şimşe (I am looking for a certain little goat).

Class 21

207.

The prefix of class 21 is zi- before stems commencing in a consonant and z- before vowel-commencing stems.

In the plural form of this class, class 6 prefix is preprefixed to the class 21 noun.

208.

Variant forms of the prefix: Before vowel-commencing stems, the prefix zi- > z-, the vowel i being elided. In one case zh- is found.

e.g. zoto (large fireplace)	mazoto	cp.moto (fire) (3)
zana (large child)	mazana	mjana (child) (1)
zenga (large frying pan)	mazenga	rwenga (frying pan) (11)
zura (large frog)	mazura	cura (frog) (7)
zhenje (large torch)	mazhenje	mjenje (torch) (3)

209.

The prefix of class 21 is one of secondary function:

All nouns of this class are augmentatives indicating great size.

In the treatment of prefix [ri-] of class 5 in secondary function, it was pointed out that [ri-] forms augmentatives of 1st degree when joined to non-class 5 stems.

e.g. ſuka (large animal)	cp. mhuka (animal) (9)
gadzi (large woman)	mukadzi (woman) (1)
sikana (large girl)	musikana (girl) (1)
dzwanda (large awkward basket)	tswanda (basket) (9)

Augmentatives of second degree may be formed by pre-prefixing class 21 prefix to these augmentatives:

e.g. zifuka (huge beast)
zigadzi (huge woman)
zisikana (fine, big girl)
cp. zidzikana (huge girl- used in scolding)

Nouns of class 5 form simple augmentatives by pre-prefixing class 21 prefix. Many non-class 5 nouns also form augmentatives in this class without previous substitution or superimposition of [ri-] in secondary function. This seems to be especially the case with nouns of class 9 and 10.

But the size connoted by these forms is larger than that of class 5 as an augmentative of first degree.

e.g. zibanga (big unwieldy knife)	cp. banga (knife) (5)
zibere (huge hyena)	bere (hyena) (5)
zidatya (huge frog)	datya (frog) (5)
zitswana (large basket)	swana (basket) (9)
zinhambe (long step)	hambe (step) (9)
zinyoka (very big snake)	nyoka (snake) (9)
zihoromba (very big male baboon)	horomba (male baboon) (9)
zinyana (very big chick)	nyana (chick) (9)
zinyina (very big mother)	nyina (one that has borne young) (9)
zimunhu (big person)	munhu (person) (1)
zinhu (fearful, repulsive thing)	
mazitsoka (great, big feet)	tsoka (feet) (10)

210.

The following types of stems form augmentatives exclusively in class 21; monosyllabic stems of classes 1a, 5 and 9,

e.g. zimbga (huge dog) cp. imbga (dog) (9)

vowel commencing stems,

e.g. zana (huge child) cp. mmana (child) (1)

211.

Augmentatives are used for many purposes besides that of the description of size. Thus they may be used for encouragement,

e.g. Cienda iwe zizaya (Go on now, you great big man) - said to a small boy by his mother; and for purposes of abuse and scolding,

e.g. Zirume guru guru rakadayi, unodyireyi zavana vadiki ?
(Why does a big fellow like you eat the children's things?)

These implications enter into the plural in class 6 also. The plural can also, of course, bear a multial or quantitative sense when applied to substances.

e.g. mazitsoka (you great big feet)
Usafunge kuti ndauya kuzonwa mazimvura ako ayo akashapa (Don't think that I have come to drink that rotten, bitter water of yours).

In the last example, the augmentative sense, as often happens, has passed over into the pejorative. The thing is an enormity.

212.

The concords of class 21 are those of class 5.

Adverbials functioning as nouns.

Just as many substantives in Shona function without any change of form as adverbials, so, conversely, adverbials may function as nouns. This is the case with adverbials formed with ka-.¹

The formative ka- forms adverbials of degree with adjectival and enumerative stems.

e.g. kashoma (to a small degree) cp. -shoma (few)
 kazhinji (often) -zhinji (many)
 kaviri (twice) -viri (two)

It is also found in the adverbial kare (long ago).

When functioning as nouns, adverbials of this type govern concords as follows :

<u>Quant.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
² ko-	ka-	ka-	-ka-

e.g. Motekare yakatuta kaviri kose (The motor-car carried quite twice - its load).

Kare kangu, ndiciri mpana mudiki (My olden days, while I was still a small child)

Kaviri kanodikanwa kwazo (Twice is (what is) needed indeed).

Ndinokada kaviri (I want (the) twice).

cp. katatu caiko (really three times) - where iko is the absolute pronoun referring to katatu (three times).

It is probably because of the presence in the language of a noun class with prefix ka- that this parallel development on the adverbial level has taken place.³

1. For the treatment of ka- as adverbial formative cf. par.902. Cp. Marconnès, par.283 a, b where, however, * -ka- is not used as a verbal particle, as Marconnès says, but as the object concord referring to the adverbial kashoma.
2. This concord undergoes substitution, cp. kese. I have not given adjectival and enumerative concords since it is with adjectival and enumerative stems that ka- appears in its primary and adverbial function.
3. Cp. Marconnès, par.94, where the absence of ka- (class prefix of class 13) in Karanga is linked with the absence in Karanga of the adverbial formative under discussion; and the use of ru- (prefix class 11) as a diminutive in certain dialects is linked with the use of ru- as an adverbial formative of degree.

CHAPTER IV

THE NOUN (continued)

DERIVATIVE NOUNS.

214.

In the previous chapter we have seen that nouns, in general, are composed of two elements - the prefix and the stem. The prefix has been considered as either in primary or in secondary function. The stems of the nouns which have been treated have mainly been primary stems, i.e. stems that show no sign of origin from another word.

We have now to consider a second class of noun stem, viz. the derivative stem. Derivative stems are those that originate from other parts of speech, from combinations of these, or from simpler noun stems by the addition of a suffix. According to the derivation of the stem, derived noun stems may be classified as follows :

- a) stems derived from verbs;
- b) stems derived from substantives - 1/ by prefixal formation;
ii/ by suffixal formation;
- c) stems derived from qualificatives - both adjectival and
enumerative;
- d) stems derived from ideophones.

In addition we may consider the cases of:

- e) compound nouns - 1/ with reduplicated stem;
ii/ with stem formed from combinations
of elements from various parts of
speech;
- f) imported nouns.

215.

a) Noun stems derived from verbs.

Verb stems, which are the stems of verbal nouns of class 15, generally consist of verbal root and terminative ^{1.} -a.
^{2.} Verb stems supplying the basis for deverbative noun stems may be simple, in which case they generally consist of verbal root and terminative -a, e.g. -tuma (send), or they may be derivative and belonging to one or other of the derivative verbal species. ^{3.} In this case they will consist of verbal root + derivative suffix which generally includes the terminative -a.
^{29.}
-tuma (be sent)
-tumira (send to, for etc.)
-tumisa (make send)

In general, deverbative noun stems are of two kinds, those with terminative -i and those with terminative -o. Those with terminative -i are generally personal and usually agentive, though when derived from passive stems they indicate patients. Those with terminative -o are impersonal and usually instrumental. In both cases, terminatives -i and -o are substituted for terminative -a of the verb stem.

Deverbative stems with terminatives -e and -u and, in classes other than class 15, stems with terminative -a are found, but the meaning and function of these terminatives is not clear.

Deverbative stems together with the noun prefixes constitute the deverbative nouns. In these, the prefixes are usually in primary function.

The formation of deverbative nouns, then, ~~then~~, involves, in all, a two-fold formation; attribution of prefix and attribution of terminative. In some classes these processes are living, and nouns may be ^{formed} found from verb stems at will. In others, the processes are not living, and while actual examples exist, nevertheless other nouns cannot be formed at will upon the pattern that they set. Unless it is indicated to the contrary, the process of derivation should be taken as non-living. Nouns always should be derived with caution, as it is always possible, either

that such derivatives do not exist, or that they may have acquired a particular meaning not corresponding to the normal meaning of such derivatives.

-
1. Stem: That part of a word depleted of all prefixal inflexions.
Root: The irreducible element of a word; the primitive radical form without prefix, suffix or other inflection.
Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology pp.200,192.
 2. These are stems derived from verbs.
 3. For these species and their relation to the primitive stem, cf. Chapter VII, The Verb Stem.

216.

DERIVATIVE NOUNS IN THE VARIOUS CLASSES.

Deverbative nouns exist in all classes. The prefixes of these nouns are found, almost always, in their full forms, but there are one or two examples of change.

The singular and plural linkage is the same as in non-deverbative nouns. Substitution and superimposition of prefixes also obtains, though to a limited extent.

Classes 1 and 2.

217.

Deverbative nouns of these classes are all personal. They are formed by prefixing class 1 and 2 prefixes to the verb stem and by substitution of terminative -i for -a. This is a living process. The noun resulting from this formation signifies the agent of the action expressed by the verb stem from which it is immediately derived.

e.g. mupi (giver)	-pa (give)
muḡi (thief)	-ḡa (steal)
muzari (parent)	-zara (give birth)
mutumi (sender)	-tuma (send)

Where the verb stem is that of the passive derivative species, terminative -a sometimes remains as alternative to -i. Patients are indicated.

muḡatwa)	
mubatwi) (captive)	-ḡatwa (be caught)
mutapxa)	
mutapxi) (captive)	-tapxa (be captured)
mufirwa)	
mufirwi) (one bereaved)	-firwa (be bereaved)

Classes 1a and 2a

218.

Personifications and personal names are made from predicates. Examples of personal names which are, morphologically, imperatives and indicatives, were given in par. 131. The class 2a form is the honorific plural.

Further examples: Women's names.

Mucatamba	cp. mucatamba (you will dance)
Mandivenga	mandivenga (you have hated me)
Ndakutadza	ndakutadza (I have offended you)

Men's names.

Mucabayiwa	cp. mucabayiwa (you will be killed)
Wadye-gora	wadye-gora (Ka.) (You ate the eagle)
Mashonga-nyika	mashonga nyika (you are adorned (with) land)

There is sometimes a difference between the name and the corresponding predicate in use today.

e.g. Mutambirwa cp. munotambirwa (you are danced for)
Wadye wadya (you have eaten)

-
1. A serious study of the formation of names in Shona, hitherto unattempted, would throw light on the morphology of the language, both historical and contemporary. Is it possible that, in this name, we have the simple implication, indefinite aspect, a form not now used in normal speech, save with one or two verb stems?
cp. Also the survival of the verb stem -za, usually found only in combination with a following infinitive prefix in the form -zo- (-za + ku- > -zo-), in the name Muza-nenhamo (One who comes with misfortune).

Classes 3 and 4.

219.

Deverbative nouns of these classes are all impersonal, and are formed by substituting terminative -o for the terminative -a of the verb stem^{1.} Where the verb stem is that of the applied species, the resulting nouns indicate the manner of action signified by the verb stem. Derivation here is a living process, but where the applied species is passive in addition, derivation in this sense is restricted to transitive verbs. In Ka. the terminative is -e.

Nouns derived from verb stems other than the applied, particularly simple stems, indicate a subjective act or state; otherwise instruments are indicated.

e.g. - from applied stems:

muridziro (way of playing)	-ridzira (play for etc.)
mudiro (way of loving)	-dira (love for)
murevero (way of speaking, account)	-revera (speak for)
muririro (way of crying)	-ririra (cry for)
muzipiro (tastiness)	-zipira (be sweet for)
muzarirwo (way of being born)	-zarirwa (be born for)
murapikirwo (way of being treated)	-rapirwa (be treated for)

cp.

Shiri inomuririro wayo, haiusiye (The bird has its way of calling, it does not leave it).

The plural of such nouns is in class 4.

e.g.

midiro (ways of loving) -dira (love for)

The plural in class 6 with prefix ma- in secondary function indicates the singular act, but as complex, cumulative of subsidiary processes. It is sometimes with difficulty distinguished in meaning from the singular form.

e.g.

mašatsiro (utility) -šatsira (help)

-
1. The joining of the relevant class prefixes in each of the following paired classes will be assumed and not specially prescribed.

- from other stems:

mutengo (price, subjective value)	-tenga (buy)
müero (weight, subjective measure)	-era (measure)
munamato (act of prayer)	-namata (pray)
muteuro (act of sacrifice)	-teura (sacrifice)
mutauro (language)	-taura (speak)
mufaro (joy)	-fara (rejoice)
mubvunzo (act of questioning)	-bvunza (ask)
mutšairo (broom)	-tsaira (sweep)
murumiko (cupping horn)	-rumika (let blood)

Classes 5 and 6.

220.

Deverbative nouns of these classes are impersonal with terminative -o. They indicate instruments.

Where the stem is applied, deverbative nouns sometimes indicate the place of action, also, no doubt, considered from an instrumental point of view.

e.g. zambuko (ford) -ambuka (ford); UrB: -vambuka
dambudzo (affliction) -tambudza (afflict)
bvumirano (agreement) -bvumirana (agree mutually)

šikiro (cooking place) -šikira (cook at)
šuriro (threshing floor) -purira (thresh at)
šisiro (smelting place) -pisira (burn at)
šanguriro (forge) -šangurira (forge at)

A list of deverbative and compound nouns indicating times of the day and places was given in par. 143.

Classes 7 and 8.

221.

Deverbative nouns in these classes with terminative -o indicate instruments. The process of deriving these nouns seems a living one, especially from simple stems and from causative stems.

Where the stem is applied, such nouns indicate the place of action, no doubt regarded instrumentally.

A few nouns derived from stems belonging to the passive species retain the passive ending. They indicate products or results.

e.g. - from simple and causative stems:

šisungo (resolution)	-šunga (bind)
šinamato (prayer)	-namata (pray)

ciero (measure)	-era (measure)
cibvunzo (question)	-bvunza (ask)
citeuro (sacrifice)	-teura (sacrifice)
cigaro (seat)	-gara (sit)
cigero (scissors)	-gera (cut)
cigayo (mill)	-gaya (grind)
cirimiso (plough)	-rimisa (make plough)
cisikiso (stick for stirring)	-sikisa (cause to cook)
cisekeso (joke)	-sekesa (make laugh)
cienzaniso (measure)	-enzanisa (equalize)
cifukidzo (covering)	-fukidza (cover)

- from applied stems:

cipotero (place of refuge)-potera (take refuge at)
 cirasiro (place for refuse)-rasira (throw at)

-from passive stems:

cinongwa (foundling)	-nongwa (be picked up)
cisikwa (creature)	-sikwa (be created)
cidakwa (drunkard) cp.	-dakisa (make drunk)
cikanganwa (crop of fowl)	-kanganwa (be forgotten, forget)
zikowiwa (crops)	-kowiwa (be reaped)

Class 9 and 10.

222.

Personal nouns. A few deverbative nouns in these classes with terminative -i indicate agents. Stems derived from passives may retain the passive ending and indicate patients.

e.g. honzeri (cause)	-konzera (cause)
nhumi (sender)	-tuma (send)
mhedzi (finisher, consumer)	-pedza (finish)
mharadzi (scatterer, destroyer)	-paradza (scatter, destroy)
mbirimi (swaggerer)	-virima (swagger)
nhevedzi (disciple)	-tevedza (follow)
nhungamiri (leader)	-tungamira (lead)
nhumga (one sent)	-tumga (be sent)
nhapxa (captive)	-tapxa (be captured)

Impersonal nouns. Impersonal nouns in this class have terminative -o and indicate instruments.

e.g. mbato (pincers)	-bata (hold)
nhemo (chisel)	-tema (cut)
tsono (needle)	-sona (sew)
mhiko (oath)	-pika (swear)
mbezo (adze)	-veza (carve)
mbambo (peg)	-vamba (peg down)
tsetso (jokes)	-setsa (amuse)

Class 11.

223.

Nouns in this class are impersonal and take terminative -o.

They indicate persistent subjective qualities or habits.
Such nouns are abstract and have no plural forms.

A few nouns with the same terminative indicate instruments and these may form plurals in class 10 or class 6.

e.g. ruŋo (habit of stealing)	-ŋa (steal)
ruŋo (covetousness)	-ciŋa (desire)
ruziŋo (knowledge)	-ziŋa (know)
ruŋemo (hatred)	-sema (hate)
rusaruro (partiality)	-sarura (choose)
runzwabo (mutual understanding)	-nzwana (understand one another)
ruregero (forgiveness)	-regera (release)
ruyamuro (help)	-yamura (help)
rwendo (journey)	-enda (go)

Note the altered form of the prefix in the last example.
The plural form is ndwendo or nzendo (journeys), class 10 prefix being respectively a preprefix to the class 11 noun or a prefix.

rufuro (pasture) mafuro -fura (graze)

Deverbative and compound nouns of class 11 indicating times of the day were mentioned in par. 177.

Classes 13 and 12.

224.

Personal and impersonal nouns of these classes are formed by substituting their prefixes for those of other classes. They are also superimposed upon prefixes of other classes. In this way diminutives are formed, with prefixes in secondary function.

e.g. karoyi (little sorcerer)	cp. muroyi (sorcerer)
kadakwa (little drunkard)	cidakwa (drunkard)
kamutsairo (little broom)	muttsairo (broom)
	cp. -roya (bewitch)
	-dakisa (intoxicate)
	-tsaira (sweep)

Class 14.

225.

Deverbative nouns in this class are abstract and have no plural form. They indicate personal qualities as principles of action. This is suggested by the terminative -i.

A few miscellaneous nouns end in -o.

e.g. huipi (evil)	-ipa (be evil)
huroyi (witchcraft)	-roya (bewitch)
hunaki (goodness)	-naka (be good)
hururami (straightness)	-rurama (be straight)
hurarami (longevity)	-rarama (live long)
hucenjeri (prudence)	-cenjera (be wise)
husimbarari (endurance)	-simbarara (endure)
hupupuri (witness)	-pupura (give witness)

but cp. hudyi (wild pests)	-dya (eat)
hupfumi (wealth)	-pfuma (be rich)
hutumji (mission)	-tumja (be sent)

hururamo (justice)	-rurama (be straight)
hugaro (way of living)	-gara (sit)
huzarwa (generation)	-zarwa (be born)
hudyiro (eating place)	-dyira (eat at)
huneto (tiredness)	-neta (become tired)

226.

Other class prefixes, viz. those of classes 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21, are used in secondary function in the same manner as those of classes 13 and 12.

e.g. pamupondi (at the murderer)	cp. mupondi (murderer) (1)
kucigayo (to the mill)	cigayo (mill) (7)
mumuteuro (in the sacrifice)	muteuro (sacrifice) (3)
ziroyi (big sorcerer)	muroyi (sorcerer) (1)

cp. -ponda (strike)
-gaya (grind)
-teura (sacrifice)
-roya (bewitch)

227.

A number of nouns derived from verbs are found without change of terminative. Examples from passive stems which retain the passive ending unchanged have been given. In the following examples, since the plural formation follows normal rules, only the singular form is given.

e.g. muzambarara (deceiver)	-zambarara (lie on stomach)
Class 1: muroora (daughter-in-law)	-roora (make marriage payment)
muteverera (third-born child)	-teverera (follow on)
musitsa (one to whom a spirit message is intelligible)	-sitsa (make arrive)

Class 3: musika (whisk)	-sika (whirl, create)
mupata (valley)	-pata (be narrow)
mukwidza (ascent)	-kwidza (lift)
muceka (sash)	-ceka (cut)
mureva (sayings)	-reva (say)

Class 5:	rema (fool)	-rema (be heavy)
	simba (strength)	-simba (be strong)
	nwiwa (watermelon)	-nwiwa (be drunk)
	6arika (harem)	-parika (have many wives)
	6ira (sacrificial feast)	-pira (sacrifice)
	dundira (beetle that secretes water)	-tundira (pass water)
Class 6:	madzia (hot season)	-dzia (be warm)
	maguta (season of plenty)	-guta (become replete)
	manzwira (misunderstand- ing)	-nzwira (hear for)
	mashura (omens)	-shura (be ominous)
	matyira (reverential fear)	-tyira (fear for)
Class 9:	nhukudza (mole)	-tukudza (push up soil)
	nhuta (mole)	-tuta (lift)
	ndima (plot of ground)	-rima (hoe)
	nyora (tattoo marks)	-nyora (mark)
	mbavarira (perseverance)	-vavarira (endeavour)
	mhonda (flail)	-ponda (strike)
Class 11:	rukona (opposition)	-kona (be difficult)
	ruciva (lust)	-civa (desire)
	rubginya (splendour)	-bginya (shine)
	rutša (patch of burnt veld)	-tša (burn)
Class 14:	hunyanja (excess)	-nyanja (exceed)
	huenderera (progress)	-enderera (go on and on)
	hutša (burn)	-tša (burn)

228.

A number of deverbative nouns are found with terminative -e.

e.g.

Class 1:	murwere (sick person)	-rwara (be sick)
Class 3:	mugove (share)	-gova (share)
	muswere (duration)	-swera (pass time)
	munhuwe (smell)	-nhuwa (emit a smell)
Class 5:	donhe (drop)	-donha (drop)
	dungwe (family)	-tunga (sprout)
	rembe (dewlap)	-remba (hang)
Class 6:	maibve-ibve (ripe fruit)	-ibva (be ripe)
	maumbge (play-houses)	-umba (mould)
Class 9:	cembere (old woman)	-cembera (grow old)
	mberevere (cheat)	-verevedza (cheat)
	ndumure (weaned child)	-rumura (wean)
	nhume (messenger)	-tuma (send)
Class 11:	rugare (peace)	-gara (sit down)
	rupfave (gentleness)	-pfava (be gentle)
Class 14:	hupombge (adultery)	-pombge (be committed- of adultery)
	hugare (peace)	-gara (sit)
	hurwere (sickness)	-rwara (be sick)

229.

A very few deverbative nouns are found with terminative -u.

e.g.

- Class 1: mukweguru (term of respect for woman) -kwegura (age)
 cf. Ve.mukegulu
 Class 5: dutu (heap) -tuta (lift) cf. Ng-thutha
 cf. Ve.dutu (heap of something soft)
 Class 11: rufu (death) -fa (die) cf. Ve.-fa
 cf. Ve.lufu
 Tsw.lošô

No satisfactory explanation seems to be available for the above terminatives. Sometimes it is likely that the corresponding verbs have been derived from the nouns and this may be the reason for the lack of distinctive deverbative terminative.

230.

b. Nouns derived from substantives.

1/ Nouns derived from substantives by prefixal formatives.

- 1) - from nouns by means of the prefixal formatives sa- and nya-.

These prefixal formatives are used with nouns in order to express the ideas of owner, guardian, user, a person identified with the object signified by the noun to which these formatives are prefixed. The resultant words are

1.

nouns of class 1a.

e.g. - the formative nya- with nouns of class 15 as stem.

nyakuša (thief)	cp. kuša (to steal)
nyakuti (So-and-so)	kuti (to say)
nyakutuma (the sender)	kutuma (to send)
nyakuipa (the evil one)	kuipa (to be bad)
nyakufuta (the fat one)	kufuta (to be fat)
nyakuuraya (the murderer)	kuuraya (to kill)
nyakukara (the cruel one)	kukara (to be cruel)
nyakukurumidza (the one in a hurry)	kukurumidza (to hurry)
- with nouns of other classes.	
nyamuza (illegitimate child)	cp. kuza (to come)
nyakoko (crocodile)	goko (scale) (5)
nyambare (one with call- osities)	mbare (callosities) (10)
nyasimba (strong man)	simba (strength) (5)
nyavudzi (hairy person)	vudzi (hair) (5)
nyanzara (antbear)	nzara (nails) (10)
nyamabiza (keeper of horses)	mabiza (horses) (6)
nyamapipi (conjurer)	mapipi (tricks) (6)

1. Cp. the Zulu class 1a formatives -so- (father of) and -no- (mother of) used to construct proper nouns. Cf. Doke, Zulu, par. 205. Cp. also the Lamba class 1a formatives si- and na-, originally masculine and feminine gender formatives respectively. Cf. Doke, Lamba, par. 192.

e.g. The formative sa-:

saimba (head of a house)	cp. imba (house) (9)
samhuri (family head)	mhuri (family) (9)
sabuka (kraal head)	buku (tax-register) (5)
	cf. Eng. Book
	Afr. boek.
samusha (kraal head)	musha (village) (3)
sazita (namesake)	zita (name) (5)
sanyina (co-wife)	nyina (mother) (9)
samukadzi (father's sister)	mukadzi (woman) (1)
sarumai (great grandmother)	mai (mother) (1a)
sarumbuya (mother of above)	mbuya (midwife) (1a)
sanhume (intermediary at marriage negotiations)	nhume (messenger) (9)
sarungano (story teller)	rungano (story) (11)
sanyaya (plaintiff)	nyaya (news, affair) (9)
sapamberi (leader)	pamberi (ahead) (16)
sakuwana (title of address to potential son-in-law)	kuwana (to marry) (15)
sawira (privileged friend whose duty it is to console at times of bereavement)	

The plurals of the above class 1a nouns are the same as those used for relatives and kin. Thus the form with prefix of class 2a is both honorific and, less often, of plural reference. The forms with the composite prefixes uadzi- and madzi- are the normal plurals.

e.g. madzisabuku (the kraal heads)

231.

2) Nouns formed from relative qualificative pronouns by means of prefixal formatives.

Nouns of classes 1 and 2 are formed by prefixing the prefixes of these two classes to relative qualificative pronominal stems of the following type:

relative concord of class 8 + conjunctive adverbial.

eg. muzinedoro (owner of the beer) < mu- + zinedoro
cp. zinedoro (those with beer)

This is the likeliest explanation of the following examples which have a meaning similar to the class 1a nouns of the preceding section. It should be noted, however, that with some speakers, -na- is found instead of -ne-, with unaltered vowel, no matter what latent initial vowel it may be followed by. This suggests - unless zina is a special formative of which the explanation is not yet appa-

1.
rent - that the noun is being treated as a class 1a noun.

e.g. muzinadoro (owner of the beer)

cp. zinaḡaḡa (father's affairs)

muzinapfuma (a rich man) cp. pfuma (riches) (9)

muzinamunda (owner of a field) munda (field) (3)

muzinadoro (owner of the beer) doro (beer) (5)

muzinambga (owner of the dog) imbga (dog) (9)

muzinamombe (cattle owner or herd) mombe (cattle) (9)

muzinakuenda (the one who has to go) kuenda (to go) (15)

muzinakuponda (the executioner) kuponda (to strike) (15)

cp. Watatu muzinaguwa guwa (tale, detraction) (5)
(The third one is a tale-bearer, viz. Two's company)

232.

11/ Nouns derived from nouns by suffixal formation.

In Central Shona, derivation by suffix is very meagrely developed. Diminutive ideas are conveyed by the prefixes of classes 13, 12, 19 and 14, augmentative ideas by those of classes 5, 6 and 21. However, there are a few nouns in which we find the diminutive suffix -ana, itself a noun stem in the class 1 noun mḡana (child). Locative ideas are conveyed by the prefixes of classes 16, 17 and 18 and so far no locative suffixes have been found. ^{2.} Masculine and feminine suffixes are found in a number of instances and the suffix -nyina is used to indicate various types of relationship shared in common.

233.

1) The diminutive suffix.

The suffix -ana means 'young, not full-grown'. With nouns indicating inanimate things it means 'small'. The reduplicated form is -anana.

eg. mbudzana (kid)
imbḡanana (puppy)

cp. mbudzi (goat) (9)
imbga (dog) (9)

1. -zina is a verb stem meaning dance. In Sotho a man will refer to his totemic affiliation by using this word --bina (dance).
e.g. ke bina koena (I belong to the crocodile totem-group. Lit. I dance the crocodile).
2. Unless the word mangwanani (in the morning; used also as a greeting: 'Good morning!') be a locative. Cp. mangwana (tomorrow). Alternatively it may be a variant of mangwanana, on the model of the Nguni variants in -ana/-ane.

mukomana (boy)	mukoma (elder sibling of same sex) (1)
tupukanana (microbes)	tupuka (small animals) (13)

cp. -shomanana (very few)-shoma (few) (adjectival stem)

In the above examples, the final vowel in the parent word undergoes elision when replaced by the diminutive suffix.

In the following examples, the final vowel of the parent word is semi-consonantalized, i becoming y and u and o becoming w.

e.g. hwayana (lamb)	hwai (sheep) (9)
hukwana (chick)	huku (fowl) (9)
mbewana (small seed)	mbeu (seed) (9)
ndirwana (small plate)	ndiro (plate) (9)
nhengwana (medium sized basket for crops)	dengu (basket for crops) (5)

In the following examples, the elision of the final vowel in the parent word is accompanied by palatalization of the final consonant.

e.g. hadyana (small pot)	hari (pot) (9)
murunyana (husband's younger brother)	murume (husband) (1)

Ka.

In the following examples, the addition of the suffix has resulted in consonant combinations. In the first, the final consonant is plosivized and compounded with the heterorganic prevelar voiced fricative before being followed by the suffix which replaces the final vowel -a. In the second this compound bg is built on to the final consonant, the bilabial nasal, and followed by the suffix which replaces the final vowel -e.

e.g. habgana (small jackal)	hava (jackal) (9)
murumbgana (boy) Ka.	murume (man) (1)

234.

2) The masculine and feminine suffixes.

There are two pairs of these suffixes, both of which function elsewhere as noun stems.

viz. -rume (male)	cp. murume (man) (1)
-kadzi (female)	mukadzi (woman) (1)
-komana (male)	mukomana (boy) (1)
-sikana (female)	musikana (1)

All the above suffixes are used of persons.

In addition the suffix -kadzi is used of female animals and birds. Sex in animals, however, is more usually indicated by nouns in apposition.

e.g. munhurume (male person)	munhu (person) (1)
munhukadzi (female person)	
mjanarume (male child)	mjana (child) (1)
mjanakadzi (female child)	
murandarume (male servant)	muranda (servant) (1)
murandakadzi (female servant)	
muroyirume (male sorcerer)	muroyi (sorcerer) (1)
muroyikadzi (female sorcerer)	
gukurume (cock) (5)	huku (fowl) (9)
bandakadzi (female slave) (5)	
hosikadzi (chief wife)	hosi (chief wife) (9)
	cp. Ng. <u>inkosi</u> (chief) (9)
hanzadzikomana (brother)	hanzadzi (sibling of opposite sex) (9)
hanzadzisikana (sister)	
mjanakomana (son)	mjana (child) (1)
mjanasikana (daughter)	

A more common method of indicating sex than the use of the above stems as suffixes, is to use the nouns murume and mukadzi, mukomana and musikana as the stems of possessive qualificatives.

e.g. muroyi yomurume (a male sorcerer)
hama yomukadzi (a female relative)
shangari womukomana (a boy friend)
nherera yomusikana (a girl orphan)

cp. vambuya vangu womusikana (my female relative-in-law who is still a girl).

With names of animals, sex is usually indicated by nouns indicating sex in apposition to the name of the animal. The sex-indicating nouns are:

- for males: hono (9); gono (5) cp. mukono (male) (3)
- for females: hadzi (9); gadzi (5) mukadzi (woman) (1)

The forms nhunzi (9) and dunzi (5) (female) are used for some domesticated animals.^{1.}

Alternatively the noun indicating sex is made the possessor in a possessive construction, qualified by a possessive qualificative of which the stem is the name of the animal.

e.g. nzou hono / hono yenzou (male elephant)
nzou hadzi / hadzi yenzou (female elephant)

1. Cp. Ng. ithunzi (male) (5) used of certain domesticated animals.

e.g. ithunzi lenkomo (a male beast)

shumba hono / hono yeshumba (male lion)
tsuro hadzi / hadzi yetsuro (female hare)

Again, the sex-indicating word may be made the stem of a possessive qualificative.

e.g. nzou yehono (a bull elephant)

Examples of domesticated animals:

nguruce nhunzi (sow)
huku nhunzi (fowl)
hwal nhunzi (ewe)
mbudzi nhunzi (she-goat)

235.

3) The suffix -nyina of common relationship.

The suffix -nyina is used with words indicating relatives to indicate persons who share a common relationship to a third person. It is also used with words of class 11 to indicate the common shared relationship itself.

e.g. vatezaranyina (men whose daughters are married to the same man and who share the relationship of father-in-law to him)
vakwashanyina (two men married to two sisters and who share the same relationship to their common father-in-law)
varecoranyina (two women married to two brothers and who share the same relationship to their common mother-in-law)
hukadzinyina (the common relationship shared by two wives to the same husband)
huramunyina (the common relationship to the sister's husband shared by the sisters of one wife with those of another co-wife)

cp. tezara (father-in-law) (1a)
mukwasha (son-in-law) (1)
muroora (a newly-married bride) (1)
mukadzi (wife) (1)
muramu (sister's husband (woman speaking)
 wife's sister (man speaking)) (1)

236.

c. Nouns derived from qualificative stems.

Nouns, mostly abstract, may be formed from adjectival and enumerative stems. These are usually in class 14 but may be in 11 as well. Nouns in other classes too are found derived from these stems.

e.g. humpe (unity) (14)	cp. -mpe (one)
huviri (twoness) (14)	-viri (two)
hutatu (threeness) (14)	-tatu (three)
hushoma (paucity) (14)	-shoma (few)
hukuru (size) (14)	-kuru (big)
hukukutu (hardness) (14)	-kukutu (hard)

rupenyu (life) (11)	-penyu (living)
ruzhinji (majority) (11)	-zhinji (many)
cimutanhatu (pleiades) (7)	-tanhatu (six)

237.

d. Nouns derived from ideophones.

Nouns, often reduplicated in form, are formed from ideophones with prefix mu- of class 3. This is the form which is reduplicated, while, usually, preprefix ca- of class 7 is prefixed to the reduplication.^{2.}

e.g. camudididi (running with short steps)	cp. di di di (of running with short steps)
camupupuri (whirlwind)	pupuri pupuri (of whirling wind)
camutwiriri (staring into space)	twiriri (of staring into space)
(ca)muṣaraṣada (rising quickly)	ṣaraṣada (of rising quickly - esp. of animals)
camucaca-mucaca (continual patter of rain)	ca ca ca (of heavy rain falling)
camuṣetu-muṣetu (of hopping up and down)	ṣetu (of jumping)
cp. camukumbo-mukumbo (of hopping on one leg)	gumbo (leg) (5)
camutiwu-mutiwu (continual pommelling)	tiwu (of pommelling)
camucacu-mucacu (continual taking from the pot)	cacu (of taking a morsel from the pot)
camushapu-mushapu (continual baling out of water)	shapu (of baling)

A number of miscellaneous nouns are derived from ideophones.

e.g. mupfunvumvu (what is spilt from a full basket) (3)	pfunvumvu (of spilling)
sandara (flat place or thing)	sandara (of being flat)
dau-nhau (grass-hopper) (5)	dau (of hopping)
gambikambu (a scramble) (5)	kambu (of scrambling)
mangwanani (early morning) (6)	ngwe (of being clear) ^{3.}

1. Alternatively one could explain these forms as adjectival qualificative pronouns. But the derivation of nouns from qualificative stems by prefixing class 14 prefix is common in other Bantu languages. In these languages it is certainly nouns that are formed, the qualificative pronouns having a different prefixal form. Cp. Zulu: ubukhulu (greatness); obukhulu (the great one) -khulu (great). The meanings of these derivatives also indicate nouns. Cp. O'Neil p.50. d.
2. Cf. Louw p. 296 for further examples.
3. Cp. the Ng. derivatives ukusa (to dawn); muso (dawn); kusasa (early) from the ideophone sa (of becoming light).

cishwe (slip-knot) (7)	shwee (of catching in a slip-knot)
cigogodza (woodpecker) (7)	go go go (of knocking)
zibvaru-bvaru (rags and tatters) (8)	bvaru-bvaru (of being torn)
mbiri-viri yomoto (roaring of the fire) (9)	viri-viri (of racing)
hurubvu-rubvu (mincemeat) (14)	rubvu-rubvu (of mincing)

238.

e. Compound nouns.

1/ of reduplicated form

1) Reduplicated stem.

e.g. mufambi-fambi (tramp) (1)	cp. -famba (travel)
mubvuru-bvuru (crumbs) (3)	
mudiwa-diwa (love philtre) (3)	-diwa (be loved)
guro-kuro (larynx) (5)	huro (throat) (9)
bvuna-pfuna (light rain) (5)	-pfuna (rain lightly)
binde-pinde (rope, line holding hands) (5)	-pinda (enter)
bandu-pandu (abnormal thing) (5)	-panduka (be mad)
dapi-tapi (tastiness) (5)	-tapira (be tasty)
dzete-tsete (smooth thing) (5)	-tsetera (smear)
gwendere-kwendere (hide 1. and seek) (5)	-endera (go to)
gwenda-kwenda (coming and going) (5) 1.	-enda (go)
mangwana-ngwana (very early morning) (6)	mangwana (tomorrow) (6)
cibaya-baya (thorn tree) (7)	-baya (pierce)
mhunyu-punyu (crumbs) (9)	-punyuka (slip off)
kadakwa-dakwa (hollow in the throat) (13)	-dakwaira (to beat - of pulse)
kanyenga-nyenga (swallow) (13)	-nyenga (woo)
kazeve-zeve (whispering) (13)	-nzeve (ear) (9)
huenda-enda (friendship) (14)	-enda (go)

2) Reduplicated noun.

e.g. denga-denga (highest heaven) (5)	denga (sky) (5)
mano-mano (lies) (6)	mano (plans) (6)
nyumpa-nyumpa (suspicious person) (9)	-nyumpa (guess)

1. In these two examples, the prefix of class 15, with semi-consonant instead of vowel, has been treated as the initial phone of a stem and vocalized.

3) Reduplicated stem with altered initial phone.

e.g. tsengwa-rengwa (half-ground flour) (9) cp. tsengwa (grain) (9)
 bura-muru (naked person) (5) mupuru (naked person) (1)

Most of these nouns indicate an intensification of the idea in the stem from which they derive.

239.

11/ Compound nouns from various parts of speech.

1) Noun + Noun.

Since nouns in Shona often function qualificatively when used in apposition, it is sometimes difficult to decide, when two nouns are found together, whether they form the stem of a compound noun, or whether the second noun is merely in apposition to the first. If both nouns change in the plural, the combination is likely to be appositional.

e.g. mutanda-mhuno (bridge of the nose) (3)	cp. mutanda (log) (3)	mhuno (nose) (9)
danda-huswa (high grass) (5)	mutanda (log) (3)	huswa (grass) (14)
kadende-mafuta (a locust) (13)	dende (calabash) (5)	mafuta (fat) (6)
Ngoma-mhowa (hill near Mrewa) (9)	ngoma (drum) (9)	mhowa (wild vegetable) (9)
tšimbo-rume (young man) (9)	tšimbo (stick) (9)	rume (big male) (5)
munhu-yi? (what sort of person?)	munhu (person) (1)	(1)yi ? (what ?) (9)
mpana-yi? (a child of what sex ?)	mpana (child) (1)	(1)yi ? (what?) (9)

2) Noun + absolute pronoun.

Examples of nouns + absolute pronoun of the 2nd person plural were all that were found. These are interjectives.

vakomana-mi! (you fellows !)
 washe-mi ! (oh, you lords !)

240.

Noun + qualificative.

With adjectives:

e.g. tate-guru (great grandfather) (1a)	cp. -kuru (great)	Ng. uyise (his father)
sekuru (grandfather) (1a)	gore (year)	-tema (black)
Gore-dema (a name - Black-year)	fupa (bone) (5)	-cena (white)
Fupa-jena (a name - White-bone)	vudzi (hair) (5)	-cena (white)
vudzi-jena (laudatory address of women of the Soko totem)	(white-hair)	

With demonstratives:

e.g. vanhu-vo (those men) (2) cp.vanhu (persons) (2)
avo (those (2))
mumba-mo (in that house mumba (in the house (18)
(18) umo (in that) (18)

241.

4) Noun + descriptive.

With adverbs:

e.g. cinyoka-mutumbu (stitch in ep.nyoka (stomach trouble)
the side) (7) (9)

kambuya-muderere (mantis) (13) dumba (stomach) (5)
kambuya (small grand-
mother) (13)

derere (wild spinach) (5)

Kufa-kunesu (a name -Death- kufu (death) (15)
with-us) (15)1.

With ideophones:

e.g. rusero-sandara (flat	cp. rusero (winnowing
basket) (11)	basket) (11)
	sandara (of being flat)
matombo-sandara (flat	dombo (stone) (5)
stones (6)	sandara (of being flat)

1. Cf. Chishona names by J.G. Roberts; NADA 1931, p.89.
Also: Native Nomenclature, NADA, 1934 p.55; 1943 p.27
1948 p.76; 1949 p.72

5) Verb + noun object.

In these noun stems, the first element is a verb stem and the second a noun as object. This class of compound noun supplies the largest number of examples.

e.g. musika-vanhu (creator of man) (1)	cp. -sika (create vanhu (persons) (2)
mupa-nhau (reporter) (1)	-pa (give) nhau (news) (9)
muswera-kuenda (tramp) (1)	-swera (spend time) kuenda (to go) (15)
mugova-nyika (land- surveyor) (1)	-gova (share, divide) nyika (country) (9)
muparadza-mvura (rain- bow) (3)	-paradza (scatter) mvura (rain) (9)
dzika-munhenga (swell) (5)	-dzika (stick in) munhenga (feather) (3)
devera-ngwena (small rafter) (5)	-tevera (follow) ngwena (crocodile) (9)
maramba-kuedza (time before dawn) (6)	-ramba (refuse) kuedza (to dawn)
maodza-nyemba (the West) (6)	-odza (to make rotten) nyemba (beans) (9)
ciramba-dare (stay-at- home) (7)	-ramba (persist) dare (council-place) (5)
cipanda-mombe (cattle scatterer - name of lion, hyena etc) (7)	-panda (scatter) mombe (cattle) (9)
cituta-matuzi (dung-beetle) (7)	-tuta (lift) matuzi (dung) (6)
citema-macira (clothes moth) (7)	-tema (cut) macira (cloths) (6)
cinzenga-mutsairo (lazy- bones) (7)	-nzenga (dodge) mutsairo (broom) (3)
cidzima-muriro (fire- fly) (7)	-dzima (extinguish) cp. mulilo (fire) (3) Nyanja
cimbato-munwe (finger- ring) (7)	-sata (hold) munwe (finger) (3)
mhunza-musha (a snake) (9)	-punza (break) musha (village) (3)
mhesa-mukono (inciter to a quarrel)	-pesa (incite) mukono (male) (3)
kanyurura-howe (king- fisher) (13)	-nyurura (take out of water) howe (fish) (9)
karinga-zuva (wrist- watch) (13)	-ringa (watch) zuva (sun) (5)

243.

6) Verb + noun subject.

In these examples, the second element of the stem stands in the relation of the subject to the verb stem which is the first element.

e.g. mubva-maropa (bloodwood tree)	cp. -bva (come from)
	maropa (blood) (6)
mafura-mhepo (open country) (6)	-fura (blow)
	mhepo (wind) (9)
mabvira-zuwa (the East) (5)	-bvira (come from)
	zuwa (sun) (5)
mashamba-nzou (very early morning, i.e. the time when elephants wash) (6)	-shamba (wash)
	nzou (elephants) (10)
rufura-mhembge (very early morning, i.e. the time when duikers graze) (11)	-fura (graze)
	mhembge (duiker) (9)
rubvunza-vaeni (late evening) (11)	-bvunza (ask)
i.e. the time when strangers ask—their way, or a lodging for the night) (11)	vaeni (strangers)

244.

7) Verb + descriptive.

e.g. mubva-kure (foreigner) (1)	cp. -bva (come from)
	kure (far)
muza-nenhamo (one who comes with misfortune) (1)	-za (come)
a Jonah)	nhamo (misfortune) (9)
mutova-kampe (iniquitous event) (3)	-to- (just)
	kampe (once)
muna-kampe (early rains) (3)	-na (rain)
	kampe (once)
mabva-mucando (things which come out in the cold-winter growth) (6)	-bva (come out)
	cando (cold) (7)
Ciri-muhanzu (the name Chili-manzi - lit. It is in a shirt) (1a)	hanzu (shirt) (9)
nhimba-napasi (gad-about) (9)	-timba (dig)
	pasi (ground) (16)
rudziya-kampe (about 8 a.m.) (11)	-dziya (be warm)
	kampe (once)
Taguta-padare (big, slow-moving beetle) (1a)	-guta (become replete)
	dare (council place) (5)
Tamuka-nenhamo (a name-We-got up-with-misfortune) (1a)	-muka (rise)
	nhamo (misfortune) (9)
zenda-nakuenda (unending thing) (5)	-enda (go)

245.

8) Miscellanea-composed of predicates of various types.

e.g. mubva-ndirimo (illegitimate child) (1)	cp. -bva (come out)
	ndirimo (I am in)
rufa-ndicimuka (resurrection plant) (11)	-fa (die)
	ndicimuka (I rising)
Mupa-ndaguta (a name-Give, -I (m-full)) (1a)	-pa (give)
	ndaguta (I am full)
Munhu-ndiripo (a name-lit. one who is treated well only when present) (1a)	munhu (person) (1)
	ndiripo (I am here)
murwa-ndirere (lit. one who attacks others when they are asleep) (1)	-rwa (fight)
	ndirere (I am asleep)
mudya-ndigere (one who expects everything to be done for him) (1)	-dya (eat)
	ndigere (I am seated)
cimandionerepi (goblin) (7)	mandionerepi ? (where did you see me?)

f) Imported nouns.

In the past, nouns have been imported into Shona mostly from Portuguese², from Nguni (mainly Ndebele), from Afrikaans (sometimes via Ndebele), and from English. It is mostly from the latter language that nouns are being imported today in an ever-growing number. These nouns are, of course, mainly indicative of the technical objects, processes and institutions which the Shona are meeting in their work and civil life.

In the assimilation of foreign words into Shona, the following are the main phonological principles involved.

1. Final closed syllables are preplaced by open ones. The vowel ə is often heard in such a final open syllable.

e.g. (phon.) dʒosɛfə (Joseph)

2. Non-Shona consonant combinations are divided by vowels or changed into Shona consonant combinations.

e.g. burukwe (trousers) cp. Afrik. broek
sondo (week, Sunday) Nd. isonto; Afrik. sondag.

3. The imported phones are assimilated to those Shona sounds felt to be nearest to them. There is often considerable difference between the imported phone and its assimilated form, particularly in the vowels.

e.g. basekoro (bicycle) cp. Eng. bicycle

247.

The distribution of imported nouns into classes.

Imported nouns indicative of persons or functionaries are usually placed into class 1a, though they may be placed in class 1 and provided with a prefix. In most cases, singular nouns are not provided with a prefix, the initial phone of the imported noun being sufficient for class attribution. Thus, imported nouns commencing with s + consonant are usually placed in class 7, the sound s being changed to the class 7 prefix ci-. Imported nouns commencing

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 446.

2. Cf. R.H. Baker C.R., Portuguese words in Chimanyika. Nada, 1947, p.62.

3. In this connection class 1a, 5 and 9 are very accommodating as they require no special prefix, the first having no prefix in Shona, the latter two having prefixes which are often absorbed into the noun stem itself. But note that imported verb stems are always given prefix ku- in the infinitive.

4. This was the old rule. Recently, borrowed words commencing in s + consonant have been placed in class 9, s being separated by a vowel from the following consonant.
e.g. sitiraki (strike)

with l or r may be placed in class 11, the initial phone being changed into ru-, the class 11 prefix. Most nouns, however, are placed into classes 5 and 9. Indeed, nouns may belong to both classes, some speakers treating them as class 5 nouns, others as of class 9. Usually nouns commencing with voiced consonants find their way into class 5, those with initial nasals into class 9. Finally, class 6 is the normal plural for all imported nouns, the prefix ma- being superimposed on the singular form. This being understood, only singular forms of the imported nouns need be given in the following examples, save for the few examples of plurals in other classes.

e.g. Class 1.

mudomeni (agricultural demonstrator)	cp. Eng. demonstrator
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Class 1a.

gavuna (governor)	cp. Eng. governor
pirinzipari (principal)	Eng. principal
diraiva (chauffeur, driver)	Eng. driver
dokotera (doctor)	Eng. doctor
fata (priest)	Eng. father

Class 3.

mushini (machine)	cp. Eng. machine
pl. mishini	

Class 5.

bizimizi (business)	cp. Eng. business
baci / batye (jacket)	Afrik. baadjie
bodyera (bottle)	Afrik. bottel
doropa / doroba (town)	Afrik. dorp
duku (head-cloth)	Afrik. doek
fakitori (factory)	Eng. factory
koŋiri (penny)	Eng. copper
puranga (plank, gun tree)	(Eng. plank
	(Port. prancha
rori (lorry)	Eng. lorry
shereni (shilling)	Eng. shilling
tafura (table)	Afrik. tafel
fasitera / vafetera (window)	Afrik. venster
vengere (house with iron roof, shop)	Afrik. winkel

Class 6.

mahanisi (harness)	cp. Eng. harness
magirazi (spectacles)	Eng. glasses
magetsi (electricity)	(Nd. igesi
	(Eng. gas.

Class 7.

cidina (brick)
cikerema (scoundrel)
citofu (stove)
cikocikari (scotch cart)
citima (train)

cingesi (English)
ciroro (Kitchen Kaffir)

cp. Afrik. steen
Afrik. skelm
Afrik. stoof
Eng. scotch cart
Eng. steamer

Port. inglez (English)
Nd. isilolo (Kitchen
Kaffir)

Class 9.

fodya (tobacco, snuff)
kirike (church)
kanzuru (council)
mhesi (knife)
manisipara (town council)
ngetani (chain)
sigiri (sugar)

cp. Port. folha (leaf)
Afrik. kerk
Eng. council
Afrik. mes
Eng. municipality
Afrik. ketting
Afrik. suiker

Class 11.

ruseva (native reserve)
rukisheni (location)
rupoto (report)
pl. tupoto

cp. Eng. reserve
Eng. location
Eng. report

Class 13.

karimoto (motor car) Ka.

cp. Eng. motor car

Class 15.

kubadara (to pay)
kudura (to be dear)
kuŝopa (to tie)
kugeza (to wash)

kufora (to drill, march)

cp. Afrik. betaal
Afrik. duur
Nd. ukuŝopa (to tie)
Nd. ukugeza (to
wash)
Eng. four (eg. in the
expression
Form fours!)

THE PRONOUN.

248.

Definition: A pronoun is a word which signifies any person or persons, thing or things, but it not the name whereby these are known.¹

249.

The types of pronoun in Shona.

In Shona, there are two types of pronoun, the absolute pronoun and the qualificative pronoun. The latter category is sub-divided according to the various types of qualificative, each of which, in addition to its qualificative function may function pronominally.

The pronouns must be carefully distinguished from the concords. The former are substantives and complete words, all capable of functioning as substantives, e.g. of standing in the relationship of subject or object to a verb, of being qualified, of qualifying other substantives by apposition etc. The latter are not words, but formatives. With the various stems - qualificative, predicative, adverbial etc., - they constitute words, expressing as they do so the existing syntactical relationships of the sentence structure.²

While the pronoun signifies a thing without being its name, it does so, generally, in a context which includes the noun, expressed or implied, which is the name of the object in question.

The absolute pronoun.

250.

The absolute pronoun is that type of pronoun which does nothing more than indicate a certain thing or things, person or persons.

There are forms of the absolute pronoun for the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, as well as for each class of nouns in the 3rd person, singular and plural.

1. This is based on Doke's definition, Bantu Linguistic Terminology p.178
2. Marconnès treats certain concords as pronouns. Thus, in his terminology, the subject concord is the conjunctive pronoun; the absolute pronoun is the disjunctive pronoun. Cf. Marconnès, par.185.

Just as the noun prefix may be used in primary or secondary function, so the absolute pronoun, which shows evident signs of morphological relationship with the noun prefix, may be used in primary reference or secondary reference.

It is used in primary reference when, in the context of a noun of a certain class, it has the form of the absolute pronoun of the class to which that noun belongs. Thus, in the context of the noun mhuka (beast) (9), the absolute pronoun iy₁o (9) indicates the beast without being its name.

The absolute pronoun, however, is used in secondary reference when, in the context of a noun of a certain class, it is of a class different from that to which the noun belongs. This secondary reference is to the class prefix used as a substitute or superimposed prefix in secondary function with the noun-stem or noun in question. Thus, in the context of the noun mhuka (beast) (9), the absolute pronoun ico (7) would not only indicate the beast, but would indicate that it was a short, fat one, or a worthless one, (cp. cipuka (7)). The absolute pronoun iro (5) would indicate that it was a large one (cp. suka (5)).

The absolute pronoun, then, carries all the implications of the class prefix. The context determines whether these are the primary or secondary implications.

1. Without any context, the absolute pronoun merely indicates something of which the name belongs to the same class as the absolute pronoun.

Table of absolute pronouns:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st. person	ini		isu
2nd. person	iwe		imi
3rd. person, class 1	iye	Class)	1uo
		2: }	
1a:	iye	2a:	1uo
3:	iwo	4:	1yo
5:	iro	6:	1wo
7:	ico	8:	1zo
9:	1yo	10:	1dzo
11:	irwo		
13:	iko	12:	itwo
		Class	
		14:	ihwo
		15:	iko
		16:	ipo
		17:	iko
		18:	imo
19:	iso		
21:	iro		

All the absolute pronouns commence with i- and are followed by the characteristic concordial part, called the basic stem of the absolute pronoun. The potentiality of this i- is different in the cases of the 1st. and 2nd person, where the i- is part of the word, and in the case of the 3rd person, where it is prothetic¹. Thus, for example, coalescence results from prefixing the adverbial formatives na- (of agency, instrumentality and association) and sa- (of comparison) to the pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons.

e.g. neni (with me) cp. ini (I-)
 sewe (like you) iwe (you)

Whereas, in the latter case of the 3rd. person, prothetic i-

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics par. 396-400.

may disappear, being no longer required for the penultimate stress which is now borne by the formative.

e.g. naye (with him) cp. iye (he)

Dialectal forms, differing from the above, are as follows :

2nd. person, plural: imne is found in Ma.

3rd. person, class 11: igwo is found in the Mari dialect of Ka.

3rd. person, class 14: ibgo is found in Ka.

252.

Reduplicated forms:

Reduplicated forms exist for all persons and classes. These are emphatic in meaning.

e.g. inini (I myself)	isusu (we ourselves)
iwewe (you yourself)	imimi (ye yourselves)
itye (he himself)	icoco (they themselves)
iwowo (it itself) (3)	iyoyo (they themselves) (4)

Similar emphatic forms for the 1st. and 2nd. persons are formed with the second syllable of the absolute pronoun enclitic on the form iyē.

e.g. iye ni (my very self)	iyesu (our very selves)
iyewe (your very self)	iyemi (your very selves)

This form iyē, which may be the absolute pronoun of class 1a, is found in the adverbial expressions:

iyē nhasi (this very day)
iyē zino (this very minute)

and as a substitute for the 1st. person absolute pronouns in some cases.

e.g. dayi ndicitaure nendimi dzavanhu nedzavangere, iye ndisinacido... (If I were to speak with the tongues of men and of angels and be myself without charity..)

Tingangofambiramo iye tisinamari (We can just walk in there without money).

cp. Iyeni ? (I myself ?) Hongu, ndiwe (Yes, it is you).
Ndini iyeni (It is I myself).
Iyewe ucandirasa (You yourself will disown me).
Uadzimai imi, muri tsuura-muromo kwazo imi;
ndicazodya iyemi kana musinganzwe zandinoreva. (Woman you, you are a terrific talker; I will eat even you if you don't listen to what I say).

253.

Enclitic forms:

The absolute pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons, when used as objects, may become enclitic on the verb they follow through coalescence with the final vowel -a.

e.g. Ungaroveni iwe ? (You, can you beat me ?)
cp. Ungarova (You can beat).

Anorobewe iwe (He will beat you, even you).
 Ucandosangana nezakapindesu (You will meet on your
 way with bigger ones than us; lit. with ones
 that surpass us).
 Isu ticakundemi vedombo-shava kana cijana cedu
 casika (We will beat you of Domboshava when our
 turn has come).

but Ndicaroba iye nokuti akuti 'Tiza'. (I will beat him
 because he said 'Run' to you).

In a few interjectives, absolute pronouns of the
 2nd. person are enclitic to nouns to which they are in
 apposition.

e.g. mjanawe! (you child !)
 vashemi! (you lords !)

254.

The use of the absolute pronoun.

The absolute pronoun is used in apposition to an
 expressed noun and in reference to a noun, unexpressed but
 understood.¹ It is usually emphatic in function, drawing
 attention to the person or object under consideration. This
 is especially so in cases of contrast, expressed or
 implied.

1) Apposition to an expressed noun. In this function,
 the pronoun is usually placed in front of the noun.

e.g. Onayika, vashamhari vangu, ini ngurwe handigone
 kukwira (Now look, my friends, I, the pig,
 cannot climb).

Isu vaZezuru hatinamambo worudzi rwose (We Zezuru
 have no chief of the whole race).

Eveni rakati: "Washamba maoko ako. Unoda kudyeyiko,
 iwe tsuro ? (Baboon said: "You've washed
 your hands. What do you intend to eat, you
 hare ?)

Nzou netsuro dzakakakatana asi iko tsuro kakakunda
 (The elephant and the hare had a tug-of-war
 but little he, the hare, was victorious)

Vakomana vatatu vakatumba kudoropa havana kudzoka
 nokuti iro Taoneyi rakasika romutsa dzivo (The
 three boys who were sent to town have not
 returned because Taoneyi, the quarrelsome one,
 started a fight there).

In the last two examples, the absolute pronouns are not in

1. It may be argued that, in certain cases, pronouns are
 intelligible and function independently of any reference
 to a noun. Thus in the cases of the 1st. and 2nd. persons,
 and in that of the indefinite pronoun 'it', reference to
 an implied noun does not seem necessary. Against this
 position it is argued that even the pronouns of the 1st.
 and 2nd. persons refer to substantives and are not fully
 intelligible until these are known, while inspection
 will show that the indefinite pronoun 'it' refers to
 nouns like the weather, to types of activity or noun
 clauses.

In Shona it appears that this reference is usually

(footnote from the previous page continued)

present, being required by the concordial nature of the language. Thus the absolute pronoun ico must refer to a noun of class 7 with prefix either in primary or secondary function. There are two types of indefinite pronoun in Shona, those of classes 7 and 8 and that of class 15. The first refers to the general circumstances of human culture, the second to natural phenomena. This distinction is also found in the concords. Cp. the subject concord, par. 516.

concordial agreement with the nouns to which they stand in apposition. While in apposition to the expressed nouns tauro and Taoneyi, they are referring to nouns in classes 13 and 5 respectively, viz. katsuro (little hare) and gomana (big fellow).
255.

2) Reference to an implied noun.

e.g. Rakaridzirwa pfuti, iro rikati 'Ndashatirwa' (It was fired on with a gun and then it got angry).

In the context, iro refers to bveni (baboon) (5).

Uacena vakangwara kupinda isu; isu, cinotirambidza kucengeta madzimbahwe ehama dzedu, ciyi ? (The Whites are cleverer than we; as for ourselves, what prevents us from keeping up the graves of our relatives ?)

In the context, isu refers to the adjectival qualificative pronoun vatema (blacks).
256.

3) Use in contrast.

e.g. Ini ndinoenda, iwe unosara pano (I will go, you will remain here).

Cisarayi zenyu, tava kuenda isu (Goodbye now to you, we are on our way).

Ini ndinomuona, iye haandione (I see him (but) he does not see me).

Ini ndiri mucokwadi, iwe warasikirwa (I am in the right, you are in the wrong).

Uakadzi vanobata basa iwo varume vagere zavo (The women work (while) they, the men, for their part, are seated).

257.

When emphasis is required, the absolute pronouns function as substantival subject and object, the subject and object concords not being sufficient.

The qualificative pronoun.

260.

The qualificative pronoun is a qualificative used substantivally in the absence of an expressed substantive. Like the absolute pronoun, the qualificative pronoun indicates a person or thing without being its name, yet this is done in a context which includes, by implication at least, the noun which is the name of such person or thing.

The qualificative pronoun further signifies the person or thing as possessing a definite quality, under the specific aspect of which it is regarded and indicated.

Thus the adjectival qualificative pronoun mutuku (a red one) in the context of munhu (person), signifies someone indicated under the aspect of the specific quality of redness of which he is the possessor.

261.

Like the absolute pronoun, the qualificative pronoun may be used in primary or secondary reference according as there is, or is not, concordial agreement between the pronoun and the substantive to which it refers. In the latter case, the secondary reference is to the class prefix as a substitute or superimposed prefix in secondary function with the noun stem or noun respectively in question.

262.

Qualificative pronouns are, then, qualificatives used without accompanying substantive. Every type of qualificative may function pronominally. Hence there are six types of qualificative pronoun corresponding to the six types of qualificative - the adjectival, the demonstrative, the enumerative, the quantitative, the possessive and the relative.

Since there is no change of form in Shona to match the change from a purely qualificative to a pronominal function, the reader is referred to the relevant sections which deal with these different qualificatives for the morphology which is common to both qualificatives and pronouns. All that will be necessary here will be to provide some examples of the use of qualificative pronouns.

263.

It will be noted from these that the qualificative pronoun discharges all the substantival functions of subject, object, qualificate, qualificative by apposition etc. The pronouns provide stems for copulatives, adverbials and possessive qualificatives, as well as functioning as adverbials without morphological change.

a) The adjectival qualificative pronoun.

264.

This is an adjectival qualificative used without accompanying substantive. As a pronoun it may discharge all the substantival functions of subject, object, qualificate etc., as well as function as an adverbial.

1/ The single adjectival pronoun.

- e.g. Mukuru wangu wauya (My elder has come). cp.-kuru (big)
 Ukuru wangu wauya (My elders have come).
 Tora zidiki izi (Take away these little ones). -diki (small)
 Tiri wangani ? (How many are we?) -ngani ? (how many?)
 Zitete cete zingapinde umo, -tete (thin)
 zikobvu hazipinde (Only the blameless ones (lit. thin ones)-kobvu (thick) can enter in there, the sorcerers (lit. the thick ones) do not enter).
 Uacena havanzarwo (The Whites are not treated like that) -cena (white)
 Ari kusarudza tsuku cete (He is taking only the red ones). -tsuku (red)
 Wamusiya muhuya here ? (Did you leave him well?) -huya (good)
 Inga, zihuya izi ! (I say, it is good news, this!). -huya (good)

The last example is of a adjectival qualificative pronoun which has become a copulative by raising the tone on the concord. Cp. par. 852

265.

11/ The reduplicated adjectival pronoun.

In these reduplicated forms, either the stem or the complete adjective may be reduplicated. Reduplicated numeral adjectives are used in an adverbial sense.

- e.g. Uazhinji-zhinji vanobvuma, vashoma--cp.-zhinji (many)
 shoma vanoramba (Very many agree, -shoma (few) very few refuse).
 Zishoma-shoma zingandigutise (Very little would satisfy me) -shoma (few)

Adverbials:

Uari kufamba vana vana (They cp. -na (four)
are walking in fours).
Tinosunga mombe mbiri mbiri (We -viri (two)
inspan the oxen two by two).

266.

iii/ The ordinals.

The ordinal numbers belong to the category of adjectival pronouns. They are made up of adjectival concords ci- of class 7 (agreeing with cinhu (thing) and with its indefinite connotation) or ru- of class 11, and the adjectival stems indicating the numbers.

e.g. ciposhi / cipotsi (first one)	cp. poshi/potsi (one)
cipiri (second one)	piri (two)
citatu (third one)	tatu (three)
cina (fourth one)	cina (four)
cishanu (fifth one)	shanu (five)
citanhatu (sixth one)	tanhatu (six)
cinompe (seventh one)	cinompe (seven)
citserere / rusere (eighth one)	rusere (eight)
cipfumbampe (ninth one)	pfumbampe (nine)

These qualificative pronouns form the stems of possessive qualificatives.

e.g. musha weciposhi (the first village)
mpana wecipiri (the second child)
mbudzi yecitatu (the third goat)

The counting numerals, poshi, piri, tatu etc. may also function as possessive stems in this sense. They have no latent initial vowel.

e.g. zuva rapotsi (the first day)
mpana warusere (the eighth child)

The adjectival pronouns are also the stems for the adverbial ordinals formed with the formative ka-.

e.g. keciposhi (firstly)	
kecipiri (secondly)	cp. kaviri (twice)
kecitatu (thirdly)	
kecitserere (eighthly)	
but karusere (eighthly)	

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 180-1

iv/ The adjectival pronoun as possessive stem.

This rather rare construction lays more stress on the qualificative than the bare adjectival use.¹

e.g. munhu womukuru (a really big man) cp. -kuru (big)
munhu womutema (merely a black man etc.) -tema (black)

Ungaiteyi zako, munhu womutema ?
(What can you do, a black man?)

sadza rejena (snow-white porridge) -cena (white)

The adjectival qualificative pronoun agrees in class with the noun being qualified. In the following case, there is discrepancy of class.

268. v/ In apposition.

Very rarely, the adjectival pronoun is found in apposition to a noun of different class to itself.

e.g. mgedzi jena guru (a great white moon) cp. -cena (white)
-kuru (big)

Moyo cena ndoweyi kureza mgana
asi wako (What sort of a kind heart is it to fondle a child not your own) - said a sorcerer or a person who wants to steal but starts by disarming suspicion.

269.

vi/ The adjectival concords ci- (7), and more often, zi- (8), with the connotation of manner or style, constitute adjectival qualificative pronouns which function as adverbs. The concord ru- (11) is used in Ka. instead of the adverbial formative ka- of degree.

e.g. zikuru (great ones, greatly) cp. -kuru (big)
zishoma (few ones, to a small extent) -shoma (few)
ruviri (twice) -viri (two)
ruzhinji (the majority, many times) -zhinji (many)
rutatu rwose (full three times) -tatu (three)

270.

vii/ In secondary reference.

e.g. Akauya nezuro ndiani ? (Who came yesterday)
Cikuru ciye candisina kumboona (That short, fat elder whom I have never seen).

Mamboona shampari yangu here ? (Have you seen my friend ?)

Uri kureva rwuye rutete rwawanga uiharwo ? (Do you mean that tall, thin one you were with?)

Adrian ari kupi ? (Where is Adrian ?)

Uri kureva huru iye yapfuura nepano ? (Do you mean that big good-for-nothing who passed here ?)

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 156.

2. Cf. Marconnès, par. 158.

b) The demonstrative qualificative pronouns.

These are demonstrative qualificatives of all types used pronominally without accompanying substantive.

1/ While these pronouns act as subject and object to verbs, they are chiefly associated with copulatives.

e.g. Aka kanocema nguwa dzose (This little cp. aka (1st. posn. 1.
one cries all the time). 13)

Hatidye aya (We don't eat these). aya (1st. posn. 6)

Uyu ndiani ? (Who is this one ?). uyu (1st. posn. 1)

Kupera kwazakaita ndiko uku (The outcome of what they did is this). uku (1st. posn. 15)

Iyi ndiyo mbava yakafa mombe yangu (This is the thief who stole my ox). iyi (1st. posn. 9)

Pano hapana-cakanaka (This place here has nothing good). pano (1st. posn. precd. 16)

Ko, zakari aka kandanga ndinako cete.. aka (1st. posn. 13)
(Tell me, since it is this little one which I only had....).

Uyu muvimi, uyo murimi (This one is a hunter, that one is a farmer). uyu (1st. posn. 1)
uyo (2nd. posn. 1)

Iyi imombe yangu, iyo ndeyako (This one is my ox, that one is yours). iyi (1st. posn. 9)
iyo (2nd. posn. 9)

11/ Reduplicated forms.

e.g. Baba wako ndiyeyu (Your father is this very one). iyeyu (1st. posn. 1)
Akaka kambudzi kangu, akako ndakako (This little one is my goat, that one is yours). akaka (1st. posn. 13)
akako (2nd. posn. 13)

111/ Demonstrative pronouns as possessive stems.

e.g. makumbo eidzi (the legs of these ones) idzi (1st. posn. 10)
kunaka kwouhuw (the pleasant taste of this one) uhwu (1st. posn. 14)
dzimba dzapano (the houses of this place here) pano (1st. posn. precd. 16)

iv/ Demonstrative pronouns used adverbially.

The adverbial use is found chiefly in the case of demonstratives of classes 8, 16, 17 and 18.

e.g. zino (now; lit. these things here) cp. zino (1st. posn. precd. 8)
Uya kuno (Come here). kuno (1st. posn. precd. 17)

1. In these abbreviations, posn. = position, posn. precd. = position precised.

v/ Demonstrative pronouns used in secondary reference.

e.g. Ndoupi anonzi Shoniwa - kaye kakauya tiri padare ? (Which is the one called Shoniwa - that little one who came while we were at the council-place ?)

Kwete, riye rakanga riinemapfumo maviri
(No, that big one who had the two spears).

cp. kaye (2nd. posn. preced. 13)
riye (2nd. posn. preced. 5)

Tapfuma haatane kushatirwa; anogona kurova
here ? (Tapfuma is always angry; can he fight ?)

Iyo-ka! Haitambise wainenge yarwa naye (That one!
He doesn't play with the one he is fighting with).

cp. iyo (2nd. position 9)

c) The enumerative qualificative pronouns.

These are enumerative qualificatives used without accompanying substantive.

1/ The single forms.

1) Stem -mge (with low tone): (Singular: another;
Plural: others, more)

e.g. Uamge vacauya (Others will come)
mumge wangu (my companion)

Mombe hainaimge (The ox has no mate)

Hatidi ici, tiri kuda cimge (We don't want this one,
we want another one).

Huni dzapera, tsaga dzimge (The firewood is
finished, look for some more).

Rakauraya zhinji, dzimge dzose dzicingunorira-rira
(It killed many, all the others crying out in
the meanwhile).

2) Stem -mge (with high tone): (Singular: one;
Plural: some)

e.g. Hatidi zizhinji, tiri kuda cimge cete (We don't
want many ones, we only want one).

3) Stem -pi ? (with weak concords) : (which ?)

e.g. Unotsaga dzipi ? (Which ones do you look for ?)

Anozotenga api ? (Which ones will he buy ?)

Munhu ari upi anodya sadza (Every person (lit. a
person who is which one) eats porridge).

- 4) Stem -yi? (What ?) Za. and some Ka.
-nyi ? (what ?) Ma. and some Ka.

"Munyi (or muyi); ..mayi; bguyi; rwuyi etc., are used....
 if the inquirer has, in the conversation, heard the class
 of the noun used, but not the name itself."^{1.}

- e.g. Ndakanga ndaenda kundoona mukoma wangu (I had gone
 to see my elder brother).
 Waenda kundoona muyi ? (Gone to see what one?)
 Ndakanga ndarasa mombe yangu huru (I had lost my
 big ox).
 Warasa iyi huru ? (Lost what big thing?)
 Wakanga aciita camusetu-musetu (He was hopping up
 and down).
 Waita camuyi ? (What did he do ?)
 Ciyi ciri kumusana kwangu ? (What is it on my back?)
 Mbare (Callosities)
 Ziyi kuneni ? (What is it to me ?)
 Ciyiko caunada ? (What is it that you want ?)

The last three examples employ the stem -yi ? in a copulative.

- Waisa payi ? (Where did you put (it) ?)
 Mambo haasi anoita ziyi zaanoda ? (Is not the chief
 one who does what he likes ?)

In the last example, as in the last example of the stem -pi?,
 the stem loses its interrogative connotation in the relative
 mood.

274.

11/ Reduplicated forms.

As with the numeral adjectival pronouns, the stem
-mge (one) is reduplicated and fulfils an adverbial function.

- e.g. Takura mapango rimge^{rimge} (Carry the poles on/by one).

Mubatsireyi mumge mumge (Help him one by one).

The stems -mge (one), -pi ? and -yi ? are frequently
 used in reduplicated form, connected by the conjunctive
 adverbial formative na-. The significance of -mge changes
 from 'one' to 'each one', that of -pi ? and -yi ? from
 'which ?' and 'what ?' to 'any soever'.²

1. Louw, p.56

2. Cp. the reduplicated form of the noun ani ? (who ?):
aninani (whoever).

e.g. Mumge nomumge atore pfumo rake (Let each one take his spear).

Mbada yakauraya imbga imge neimge (The leopard killed each dog).

Mbudzi nehwai dzinamatanga dzimge nedzimge (The goats and sheep have each their pens).

Gipi necipi cinosara uite zaunoda naco (Whatever remains do what you like with it).

Anotenga dzipi nedzipi (He buys any soever).

Uri upi noupi wandinoona, ndinongotema cete (Whichever one I see, I just cut).

Ciri ciyi neciyi cirimo, uya naco (Whatever is inside, bring it).

Kayi nakayi (Any small thing whatever).

Inyi neinyi inobuya..(Whatever comes..)

275.

111/ Stem -mge (other), balanced with a following -mge for contrast.

The stem -mge (other, others) is repeated for contrast in coordinate clauses.¹

e.g. Uamge vanogara mumamisha, vamge mumadoropa (Some live in the various villages, some in the various towns).

Uamge vakaenda, vamge wakasara (Some went, some stayed).

276.

1v/ Enumerative qualificative pronouns in secondary reference.

e.g. Wakapiwa mombe nafaaba here ? (Were you given a beast by father ?)

Rumge cete rwanakapiwa runogondibatsireyi ? (How will the one thin one I was given be of use to me ?)

Wakatenga ganga here ? (Did you buy a knife)

Ndakatenga kamge kakanga kasara mucitoro (I bought one little one which remained in the store).

Wawanga uinaye ndiani ? (The one you were with—who is he ?)

Rimge rinobva kwaCiweshe (A fellow that comes from Ciweshe's).

1. Cp. O'Neill, pp. 91-2.

viii/ Copulatives are formed from adjectival pronouns, in most cases, by raising the tone on the adjectival concord from low to high. This then becomes an impersonal copulative formative. Cp. par. 852

e.g. Mukadzi uyo mukuru kwazo (That woman is a very big one).

Kumusha kuhuya here ? (Is it peaceful at home ?)

In Ka. there is a non-stress influencing enclitic formative -sa which is used with certain of these impersonal copulatives with adjectival qualificative pronominal stem to give a comparative meaning.

e.g. Handidi tsimbo iyi, ihurusa (I don't want this stick, it is bigger (than I want)).

Akanga aita souyu here ? (Was he like this one?)
Kwete, uyu mukurusa (No, this one is bigger).

Irefusa (It is longer).
Idukusa (It is smaller).

d) The quantitative qualificative pronouns.

These are quantitative qualificatives used without accompanying substantive.

1/ The single stems.

The quantitatives are very often used after the verb, even when in subjectival function. This is probably a case of inversion of the normal order, though sometimes a change from the purely pronominal to the adverbial function may accompany such a position, particularly in the case of the stem -ga (alone).

1) The stem -se (all):

e.g. Imbga yakati kušere: "Uya tiende kumusha kwangu, tinoŋgara tose;" ndokuenda zose ziviri (The dog said to the hyena: "Come, let us go to my village and live together;" and both of them went).

Uyayi mose kwandiri (Come to me, all of you).

Zose izi zakaenzana (All these ones are the same).

Uakaenda vose vari watatu (All three of them went).

Ose akanga aciŋŋa (They were all growling).

Ndaledza nekwese kwandinako kuti vanhu vangu vadane nekuwadzana (I would try with all I had that my people should love one another and agree together).

2) The stem -ga (alone):

e.g. Ndakaenda ndoga mugomo (I only went into the hillside, or, I went into the hillside alone).

Wakasuwa ndokugara oga asingaziwe cokuita (He pined and lived alone not knowing what to do).

Mombe dziri kufura dzoga dzisinamurisi (The cattle are grazing alone without a herd).

Tsuro yakaseka yega (The hare laughed on his own).

Wakaita oga pahuzima (He alone did it by himself).

11/ The reduplicated stems.

e.g. Vana ndokupedza zose-zose (Then the children finished absolutely everything).

Vose-vose vauya (Every-one, without exception, has some).

Mangwanani, vadzimai mese-mese! (Good morning to you, all you ladies!).

Dzakaaurayiwa neshumba dzose-dzose (They were all killed by the lion, down to the last).

Ndokusara ave oga-oga asisinahama panyika (And he was left absolutely alone, without a relative any longer in the country)

280.

111/ The pronouns of classes 7,8,16,17 and 18 are

frequently used adverbially:

e.g. asina kutirimuka cose (without being at all afraid).

ciri coga (that's different)

281.

1v/ The quantitatives in secondary reference:

e.g. Muramu wako akauya nani ? (With whom did your sister's husband come ?)

A ! Rwakauya rwega (Oh ! The lean fellow came alone).

Imbga yako ndiyo yakauraya mbada here ? (Is your dog the one which killed the leopard?)

Ndico cakauraya cega (It is it, the firm, stout one, which killed, (it) alone).

Uana wakadya here ? (Have the children had their food?)
Hongu, twakadya twose (Yes, all the little ones have eaten)

e) The possessive qualificative pronouns.

282.

These are possessive qualificatives used without accompanying substantive.

Possessives differ according to the nature of the possessive stem. The reader is referred to the section on the morphology of the possessive.

283.

1/ Possessives with primitive pronominal possessive stem.

e.g. Muswe hausiri waro, ndowangu (The tails is not its, it is mine).

Ndiri wako pamoyo (I am yours from the heart)

Ako magana, angu maibve-ibve (Yours are the unripe ones, mine the ripe ones)

Asi munhu akawira muhunza, washura mare, pake papera (But if a person falls into a game-pit, he is very unlucky, his number is up - lit. his is finished)

Yako yakafanana neyangu (Yours is like mine)

This type of possessive pronoun figures often in proverbs:

e.g. Cako ndecawadya - ciri mudura mutoro waMambo (What you have eaten is yours - the chief has a claim on what is in the barn).

1. Cf. Peter Patsanza, Kare, nhasi, maggwana. pp. 48-63, Epworth, Salisbury, 1943.

dundu ihozi inopfigira cayo (The chest is a barn which covers over its own - viz. The breast does not reveal its secrets).

Cisi cako rembedza, rega kukungira hata secako (Carry in your hand what is not yours, do not roll a head-pad for it as if it were yours).

Cako ndecako, kuseva unosiya muto (Yours is yours, in dipping in the porridge you keep some broth (till the end of the meal) - viz. One takes care of one's own things).

Benzi, kudza riri rako, unopururudza (Fool, praise what is your own, you utter the shrill cry of praise- viz. You make the best of a bad job).

The pronoun functions as an adverb, particularly those with possessive concords of classes 7, 8, 16, 17 and 18.

e.g. Ini mukuru zangu asi handitaure civanhu (I am grown indeed but I don't speak the native language).

Kunyangove zazo hatidye ticiguta (In spite of that we do not have enough to eat - lit. we do not eat becoming replete).

Iwe pakopa ungarwe naye here ? (You, in your condition here, can you fight with him ?).

284.

11/ Possessives with nominal possessive stem.

e.g. Cokudya cakave cishoma (Food became scarce)

Ukutanga vanozove ukupedzisira (The first shall be last)

Camangwana mutoro wamambo (Tomorrow's affairs are the chief's burden).

Zohwana hudiki (Things pertaining to childhood).

Akashaya cokureva (He was without something to say).

kutaura dzokuti (to talk nonsense)

kutaura dzenhando (to talk nonsense)

Asi zohushe hwake ziri kunetsa kwazo (But the affairs of his kingdom are giving a deal of trouble)

It will have been noticed that the concords of classes 7 and 8 are used frequently in an indefinite sense. Further examples, this time found as the stems of adverbials, are:

Unezokudada (You are conceited- lit. you have things of being conceited).

Unezokukudadisa (You have something to be proud about).

Possessives with nominal stems and with concords of classes 16, 17 and 18 are frequently used adverbially.

e.g. Anogarapo kwekanguva, woenda zake (He stays there for the space of a short time, then he goes his way)

KwaSadza, kwakaurayiwa mombe..(At Sadza's, where the cattle were killed..)

KwaHunyani kwakanaka (In the Hunyani district it is pleasant).

285.

iii/ Possessives with absolute pronominal possessive stem.

Absolute pronouns are used as possessive stems when they are in apposition to a noun or pronoun.

e.g. Tora dzesu vanaTuro (Take ours, the Hares').

Nditore dzewe, mgana mudiki wakadayi ? (Shall I take yours, a small child like this ?)

The possessive concords kwa- (17) and ca- (7), the former with the basic stem of the absolute pronoun, the latter with the full absolute pronoun, form possessive qualificative pronouns meaning 'the real one', 'the real ones'.

e.g. kwaye, caiye (a genuine one (1)).

These are used in apposition to nouns and pronouns:

e.g. ciZezuru caico (real Zezuru)
murume kwaye (a real man)
varume kwaco (real men)

In these expressions, the pronominal possessive stem agrees in class with the qualificate.

cp. ziro kwazo (real things - used often as an adverbial meaning 'truly')

The pronouns kwazo, caizo (real ones), in which the pronominal possessive stem refers to the implication of style contained in classes 7 and 8, and is used extensively as an adverbial of manner to mean 'indeed, very much'.

e.g. Ndamaniya kwazo (I ran very much, very hard).

286.

iv/ Possessives with qualificative pronoun as possessive stem

e.g. - the adjectival pronoun:

Tora zecipfupi (Take the ones of the short one).

e.g. - the enumerative pronoun:

Uanongoshora zavampe (They just despise others' things)

- the demonstrative pronoun:

Kumuzinda hakuna-woko (At the court there is no one of the place; viz. there is no permanent favourite, do not trust the chief).

cp. uko (2nd position 17)

- the possessive pronoun:

munyori wezenyika (The writer of the affairs of the country).

287.

v/ Possessives with adverbs as possessive stems.

e.g. Wakare uafunga kuti... (The ones of old used to think that...)

Handisiri womuno (I am not of this (place)).

Possessive qualificative pronouns of this class are very few, most adverbials being, as in the last example, substantives with adverbial function.

e.g. Uemhiri napemhiri (The ones of this side and of that).

Uembiri naveshure (Those in front and those behind)

Uezasi napokuhuzuru (Those of the South and those of the North - lit. those of below and those of on top).

288.

vi/ Possessives with phrases as possessive stems.

This class of possessives belongs, very likely, to the next section, where relative qualificative pronouns of indirect relation are treated.

289.

f) The relative qualificative pronouns.

These are relative qualificatives consisting of a phrase used pronominally in absence of accompanying substantive.

They are of direct or indirect relation according as the substantive referred to by the pronouns is, or is not, the implied subject of the relative predicate.

290.

1/ Relatives of direct relation.

e.g. Imba yashaya wagaramo (The house lacked one who lived inside).

Ndinokutaurira zakaitwa (I will tell you what was done)

e.g. Mitemo mitsa yakaiswa asi waiwaremera zikuru waiwa wokusataura (New orders were imposed but the one which burdened them the most was that of not talking).

Kare kare kwakanga kusina-caiwako, acingova Mgari oga pasina-nomunhu wose (Long ago there was nothing that existed, God being just alone without any human person at all).

In the last example, the relative pronoun caiwako (one which existed) is the stem of the adverbial formed with na-. This is one explanation. Another is that -na has become a copulative verb, in which case the form would be written:

1.
Kare kare kwakanga kusina caiwako. (Long ago there was nothing that existed).

291.

Conjunctive adverbials with formative na- and stems which are class la nouns are frequently used as the stems of copulative relatives, and so, relative pronouns.²

e.g. vanaTuro (those who are with Hare, the Hares)

vanaBaba (those with father, father and his companions)

Where a noun, normally of a class other than class la, has been turned into a class la noun in secondary function, the relative concords of the class to which the noun normally belongs may be used. Or other relative concords, referring to the implications of other prefixes in secondary function, may be used.

e.g. zinaMbira (the fat Dassies) (lit. those fat ones with Dassie)

Pavakanga vacitirana nharo, zinaMbira zakabva zasikawo (When they were engaged in discussion, the Dassies forthwith arrived).

TwunaTuro twakaramba kuteerera mhuka huru, tukabva twadzingwa (The Hares refused to obey the big animals and so were driven off).

DzinaJock dzatizira kumusha (Jock (a dog) and the others have run off home).

ZinaBaba zauya (Father has fits - lit. those with father have come).

In the last example, the relative concord refers to the

1. Cp. the writer's article "To be and to have" in Shona, African Studies, June 1950.
2. Cp. the plural forms of class la nouns, par.133.

implication of classes 7 and 8 which refer to sicknesses and imperfections.

Not only class 1a nouns, but also short phrases, may be used as the adverbial stems which, in a conjunctive adverbial, function as relative stems.

e.g. vanaḡuda-ndiḡudewo (Brothers- lit. those who are with go out that I may go out too).

cp. Euda ndiḡudewo (Go out that I may too go out)

This phrase refers to the brothers as having come from the same womb.

vanadzika-munhenga (swells - lit. those who are with stick in a feather).

cp. Dzika-munhenga (Swell-lit. stick in a feather).

292.

1.

Relative pronouns figure often in proverbs.

e.g. Cengeta ose manhanga; hapana-risina-mhodzi (Keep all the pumpkins; there is not one without a seed)

Waridza mhere watya (The one who raised a shout was afraid).

Aive madziḡa, nhasi aḡe mazambuko; aive mazambuko, nhasi aḡe madziḡa (What were pools, today are fords; what were fords, today are pools).

Usazidza mbodza, ndiyo inozimbira (Don't despise half-cooked porridge, that is what fills).

Cakanganwa idemo - cigutsa hacikanganwe (What is forgotten is the axe - the stump is not forgotten).

Relative pronouns of classes 7, 8, 16, 17 and 18 are frequently used adverbially.

e.g. zakanaka (well - lit. ones which are good)
zakaipa (badly - lit. ones which are ill)
zakadayi (in this way - lit. ones which did this)

Dgatirare pakanyorova (Let us sleep on a soft place-
lit. where it is soft).

293.

11/ Relatives of indirect relation.

e.g. Haazive caari (He does not know what - of what sort - he is).

1. Cf. Peter Patsanza, Kare, nhasi, mangwane, pp.48-63.

e.g. Handizive kwavakaenda (I don't know where they went)

Siya mombe dzako, hapana-kwadzingaende (Leave your
beasts, there is nowhere they can go to).

Hapana-caasingagone kuita (There is nothing that he
cannot do)

1

In proverbs:

e.g. Cawawana satisisa, mudzimu haupe kaviri (What you
have found hold on to, the spirit does
not give twice).

Zino irema rinosekera warisingade (The tooth is a
fool which laughs at what it does not
like - viz. Laugh despite your feelings)

Relatives of classes 7, 8, 16, 17 and 18 are frequently
used adverbially.

e.g. Uya kwandiri (Come to me - lit. where I am).

Gara pandiri (Sit by me - lit. at where I am).

1. Cf. Patsanza, op.cit.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUALIFICATIVE

294. Definition: A qualificative is a word which expresses a property as possessed by a substantive, without being the name of that property and without predicating it of the substantive.

295. The qualificative is the second main category of the parts of speech in Bantu. There are six types of qualificative in Shona - the adjectival, the demonstrative, the enumerative, the quantitative, the possessive and the relative. All the qualificatives, except certain demonstratives, agree in this, that they are related by concord to the noun they qualify. They differ from one another in the precise type of concord assumed, the adjectival concords for the classes being, singly and /or in combination, different from the enumerative, and so on. Indeed, the main basis of differentiation between the qualificatives lies in the type of concord assumed - adjectival stems being those that employ specifically adjectival concords, enumerative stems the enumerative concords. Certain of the demonstrative qualificatives cannot be so analysed into concord and qualificative stem; this is because the entire demonstrative, in these cases, is concordially constructed, there being nothing that one can call a demonstrative stem.

e.g. *uyu* (this) (1) ; *awa* (these) (2)

The morphological aspect of concord is here a very clear expression of the dominating position of the noun in relation to the words that qualify it. Every qualificative must agree concordially with the noun it qualifies.

Each noun class has, in general, a set of qualificative concords proper to itself, save that nouns of classes 1a and 2a employ qualificative concords of classes 1 and 2 respectively, while class 21 employs those of class 5.

296. a) The adjectival qualificative.

The adjectival qualificative is a word which expresses a property as possessed by a substantive and which is brought into concordial relationship with it by the adjectival concord.¹ The adjectival qualificative is not the name of the property itself nor does it predicate the property of the substantive.

297.

In Shona the adjectival concord, save in the cases of classes 1a, 2a and 21 where the concords are of classes 1, 2 and 5 respectively, is the same in form as the noun prefix. Hence there is a superficial difficulty in distinguishing adjectival stems from noun stems. The following tests, however, seem to be adequate in distinguishing the one class of stem from the other.

298.

1) Adjectival stems are not limited to normal association with concords of any one class or pair of classes. As a consequence of this, their meaning remains constant and unmodified through change of concord from one class to another.

e.g. munhu mudiki (a small person) (1)
muti mudiki (a small tree) (3)
cigaro cidiki (a small seat) (7)

On the other hand, noun stems are limited to primary association with a prefix of a certain class, or a pair of such prefixes, in which they bear their basic meaning which is modified through the change of prefix from one class to another.

299. 2) Adjectival stems may generally assume indifferently the concords of any class, though semantic considerations may impose limitations. For example, the numeral adjectives are used only with plural nouns, and certain other adjectival stems may be defective in the range of nouns which they may qualify.

In the case of noun stems, while there is much substitution of prefixes in primary function for those in secondary, there is not the same latitude. No noun stem as

yet come to light in Shona can assume all the noun prefixes. In particular, stems with prefixes of classes 1 and 2 in primary function seem to be excluded from the prefixes of classes 3 and 4 and vice versa.

300. 3) Adjectival stems do not assume superimposed¹ concords. They are limited to a single concord.

e.g. *tuvana tushoma* (few little children)

pamba padika)
or *pamba ndiki*) (at a small house)

(but not *pamba pandiki*).

-
1. Cp. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, loc. cit.
A second test proposed by Doke is valid in almost every case. It is to apply "the locative prefixes (Central Bantu pa-, ku- and mu-), which may be added directly to the adjectival stem, e.g. in Shona pakuru, but with a nominal stem the noun prefix must also be present, e.g. pamusha (never pasha)"
But there are a few noun stems that assume the locative prefixes without other prefix, both these found in primary association with other prefixes, e.g. panhu (at a place), cp. munhu (person) (1), pasi (ground), cp. musi (day) (3), and those restricted to classes 16, 17 and 18, e.g. pakati (at the middle), kunze (outside).

4) All adjectival stems may be reduplicated^{1.}
for emphasis but, but not all noun stems.

e.g. munhu makurukw-kuru (a very big person)

-
1. Marconnès in Shona, following Scott and Hetherwick in Nyanja, denies that there are adjectives in Bantu. His main reason is that such stems as others had held to be adjectival (e.g. Biehler, Dictionary p.21) may function substantively, whereas an adjective "by its very definition requires to be affixed and referred to a noun. It cannot stand by itself, because it does not make sense by itself without a noun which its whole function is to describe or specify." Grammar, par. 153.

Marconnès does not allow for one form having more than one function, in particular for the adjectival stem having both a qualificative and a qualificative pronominal function. Two reasons which may have led him to overlook the formal tests I have proposed above are 1) his treatment of classes 1 and 3 as one noun gender and 2) the exaggerated view that "the Karanga noun may change its articles as easily as an English noun can change its adjectives." par. 418. Basic to his position throughout is the view that the noun proper is the noun stem.

Marconnès denial of adjectives has led him to ignore the existence of any qualificatives as such. Thus, enumeratives and quantitatives are termed indefinite pronouns, the possessive concords are afforded very brief treatment as possessive pronouns, and the relatives are called clauses without their function being pointed out. Seemingly, in his view, the only type of qualificative is the substantive in apposition. c.f. Marconnès par. 145 seq.

The following list of adjectival qualificative stems contains all that have come to the writer's attention:

- kuru (big) -diki (small) Ze.
 -doko (small) Ka.
 -duku (small) Ma.
- zhinji (many) -shoma (few, small)
- kukutu (hard) -nyoro (soft)
- refu (long) -pfupi (short) Ze.
 -fupi (short) Ka.
- kobvu (thick) -tete (thin)
- sharu (old) -tša (new)
- huya (good) -vi (bad)
- oena (white) -tema (black)
- tsuku (red) -pfumbu (blue, grey)
- shava (red) -shora (yellow)
- pami (broad) -penyu (alive)
- tšene (pure) -šinu (good, clear)
- hombe (big) -mbishi (unripe)

The numerals:

- viri (two) -tatu (three)
- na (four) Ze. -shanu (five)
 Ma.
- nna (four) Ka.
- tanhatu (six) -nomŋe (seven)
- sere (eight) -pfumbamŋe (nine)
- ngani ? (how many ?)

The concord of the adjective is of the same form as the prefix of the noun it qualifies. In classes 5, 9 and 10, the initial phones of stems undergo the same changes as those of noun stems.¹

- e.g. murume mudiki (a small man) (1)
varume vadiki (small men) (2)
muti mudiki (a small tree) (3)
miti midiki (small trees) (4)
jiri diki (a small cloth) (5)
macira madiki (small cloths) (6)

1. But note that in Ka. and Ma. initial d is unchanged in classes 9 and 10; initial r is unchanged in Ka. and some Ma. in the same classes. Cf. O'Neil p.76. In class 5 -pfupi becomes pfupi in Ze. and Ma. (fupi in Ka.) whereas -pfumbu becomes bvumbu. -shava may become either shava or java.

cigaro cidiki (a small seat) (7)
 zigaro zidiki (small seats) (8)
 mombe ndiki (a small head-of-cattle) (9)
 mombe ndiki (small cattle) (10)
 rukova rudiki (a small river) (11)
 kampana kadiki (a small little child) (13)
 tuvana tudiki (small little children) (12)
 huşasi hudiki (a small net) (14)
 kufamba kudiki (a small walk) (15)
 pamba padiki (at a small house) (16)
 kumba kudiki (in the direction of a small house) (17)
 mumba mudiki (in a small house) (18)
 simbudzi sidoko (a small little goat)

The adjectival concords of classes 1a, 2a and 2l are of classes 1, 2 and 5:

e.g. Saša mudiki (a junior father)
 vadzišaša vadiki (junior fathers)
 zimbga guru (a huge big dog)

304.

Further examples of the use of the adjectival qualificative -

the single stems:

e.g. Vanhu vazhinji vakafira kuhondo (Many people died at the war).
 Muti mukukutu haunyatsomezwa (a hard tree is not easily carved).
 Miti minyoro inonyatsomezwa (Soft trees are easily carved).
 Imba inovakwa namazuwa mangani ? (In how many days is a house built ?)
 Vanhu vashoma vakaita šasa guru (A few people did a big job).
 Munhu muwi wipi anoita zakadayi ! (What kind of a bad person who does a thing like this!)
 Musi muwi wavasingaseenze (An off-day on which they do no work)
 Vakadzi vaviri vari mudzimba mbiri (Two wives are in two houses).
 Huku nhatu notutiyo tusere (Three hens with eight chickens).
 Handidi cikamu ciduku, ndinoda gamu guru (I don't want a small piece, I want a big piece)

305.

The adjectival stem is reduplicated for emphasis:

e.g. Kupinda muduwu šasa nyoro-nyoro asi kašuda šasa gukutu kwazo (To enter into a fish-trap is a very easy job but to leave is a very difficult job indeed).
 Tundevvu turefu-refu mututama twake (Very long whiskers in his little cheeks).
 šangu nhema-nhema (very black shoes).
 kampana kadiki-diki (a very small little child)
 munhu mukuru-kuru (a very important person)

Note that in classes 5, 9 and 10, the complete qualificative is reduplicated, whereas, in other classes, only the stems undergo reduplication.

306.

In classes 5, 9 and 10, the stems -na (four) and -tša (new) assume prothetic i- in Ze. and Ma. No example of the stem -ui (bad) in these classes has been encountered.

e.g. jira idza (a new cloth) (5)
imba itša (a new house) (9)
mombe ina (four cattle) (10)

307.

In negative sentences the stem ngani? (how many) loses its interrogative meaning.

e.g. Haaipinza nhambge asina kutenga muranda, zimpe vangani vese (He did not allow time to pass without buying a slave, perhaps quite a few).

Zisiri zokuti ngani dzaaida, aida dzose (It wasn't some he was wanting, he was wanting the lot)

Handina kumbogarako kwemazuwa mangani zawo (I didn't stay there even a few days).

In the first two examples, -ngani is in pronominal function.

308.

Adjectival qualificatives agreeing with nouns of classes 16, 17 and 18.

Where the stem of these nouns is itself a noun, i.e. where the prefixes pa-, ku- and mu- are superimposed, the adjectival concord of an adjectival qualificative may be either that of the locative noun or of the noun which is its stem.

e.g. pamusha pakuru (at the big village)
pamusha mukuru (at the big village)

It is usually the latter type of concord which is used in these cases.

But where the stem of the locative noun is not a noun, or one of the restricted class of nouns mentioned in par.¹⁹⁸, then the adjectival concords are of classes 16, 17 or 18.

e.g. pasi pakukutu (hard ground)
kumhiri kworukowa (at the other side of the river)

The above is found to be the case with the other types of

qualificative concord as well.

e.g. pamusha apa (at this village)
pamusha uyu (at this village)

309.

From adjectives are formed pronouns which discharge the functions of the substantive. Cf. parr. 264-270. Adjectival stems are also used to form adverbials by means of the formative ka-. Cf. par. 902. Abstract nouns of class 14 are formed from adjectival stems by simply prefixing class prefix hu- to them. Cf. par. 236.

b) The demonstrative qualificative.

310.

The demonstrative qualificative is a word which expresses the property of position in space, time or conception as possessed by a substantive to which it is concordially related.¹

In Shona the demonstratives are divided into demonstratives of basic form which indicate relative position and those of compound form which, besides indicating position, are emphatic.

311.

The basic forms.

These demonstratives indicate 1) two positions relative to the speaker, corresponding to 'this' and 'that';

2) a refinement upon each position. These correspond to the concepts 'this here' and 'that there'.

These basic forms may be called respectively the positions and the precised positions.

312.

Table of demonstrative qualificatives for the 1st. and 2nd. positions - the 1st. position indicating 'this, these', the 2nd. position indicating 'that, those'.

	<u>1st. position</u>	<u>2nd. position.</u>
Class 1	uyu	uyo
2	ava	avo
3	uyu	uyo
4	iyi	iyō
5	iri	iro
6	aya	ayo
7	ici	ico
8	izi	izo
9	iyi	iyō
10	idzi	idzo
11	urwu ²	urwo
13	aka	ako
12	utwu	utwo
14	uhwu ²	uhwo
15	uku	uko
16	epa	apo
17	uku	uko
18	umu	umo
19	iṣi	iṣo

1. Cp. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.86

2. In Mari the demonstratives of class 11 are ugwu and ugwo, while in Ka. those of class 14 are ubgu and ubgo.

313.

Formation. These demonstratives are clearly concordially constructed. 1) The 1st. position consists of the noun prefix preceded by its characteristic vowel,

e.g. 1c1 (7) cp. noun prefix ci-,
1zi (8) cp. noun prefix zi-.

Where the consonant of the noun prefix is a nasal, this is everywhere - save in class 18 - replaced by the semivowel y. In class 10, the nasal consonant of the originally disyllabic prefix li-ni- has been disregarded, only the first consonant - now a consonant combination - remaining. In cases where the vowel u follows a non-velar or non-labial consonant, a velar consonant + semivowel has been evolved between the non-velar or non-labial consonant and the vowel u.

e.g. urwu (urywu)(11)
 utwu (utkwu)(13)

In Mari, the intrusive velar has ousted the original prefixal consonant, and become plosivized:

e.g. ugwu (11) cp. urywu (Ze.),

In class 14, the semi-vowel is evolved between the velar h and vowel u, whereas in Ka., original u is plosivized, a velar consonant replacing the semivowel:

e.g. uhwu (14) Ze. Ma.
 ubgu (14) Ka.

2) The 2nd. position consists of the demonstrative of 1st. position with the vowel eo in place of the final vowel in each case.

314.

Table of demonstrative qualificatives for the 1st. and 2nd. precised positions - the 1st. precised position indicating 'this of these here', the 2nd. precised position indicating 'that or those there'.

	<u>1st. precised position.</u>	<u>2nd. precised position</u>
Class 1	uno	uye
2	uano	vaye
3	uno	uye
4	ino	iye

1st. precised position. 2nd. precised position

Class 5	rino	riye
6	ano	aye
7	cino	ciye
8	zino	ziye
9	ino	iye
10	dzino	dziye
11	rwuno/runo ¹	rwuye/ruye
13	kano	kaye
12	twuno/tuno ¹	twuye/tuye
14	huno	huye
15	kuno	kuye
16	pano	paye
17	kuno	kuye
18	muno	muye
19	şino	siye

315.

Formation. These demonstratives are formed by prefixing concords in general identical with those of the enumerative qualificative to the two demonstrative stems -no and -ye.²

Note, however, that in the case of classes whose characteristic prefix vowel in y and whose consonant is a non-velar or a non-labial,^a velar fricative + semivowel appear in alternative forms between the initial consonant and the vowel y.

e.g. rwuno (rywuno) (11)

In the case of the Ka. class 14, the demonstrative concord is bgu-, quite different from the enumerative concord pu-.

316.

The compound demonstratives.

In addition to the basic demonstrative forms, there are compound demonstratives. These are of two types, 1) those formed of reduplications of the basic demonstratives, and 2) those formed by joining the absolute pronoun to the demonstratives. Both of these compound forms are emphatic, nothing fresh is added to the demonstrative concept by way of position.

-
1. In Mari the forms for class 11 are guno and guya, while in Ka. those of class 14 are bguno and bguya.
 2. In Ka. and Ma. the stem of the 2nd. precised position is -ya.

1) The reduplicated demonstratives.

These are formed in the following ways : a/ by reduplicating the basic forms:

e.g. 1st. position: uyu-uyu (this very) (1)
ava-ava (these very) (2)
ici-ici (this very) (7)

2nd. position: uyo-uyo (that very) (1)
avo-avo (those very) (2)
ico-ico (that very) (7)

1st. precised
position: uno-uno (this very here) (1)
vano-vano (these very here) (2)
cino-cino (this very here) (7)

2nd. precised
position: uye-uye (that very there) (1)
vaye-vaye (those very there) (2)
ciye-ciye (that very there) (7)

b/ These forms, as

regards the positions, are usually found with the first vowel of the reduplicated part elided, this becoming, then, enclitic to the first part:

e.g. 1st. position: uyuyu (this very) (1)
avava (these very) (2)
icici (this very) (7)

2nd. position: uyoyo (that very) (1)
avovo (those very) (2)
icoco (that very) (7)

These forms have been mainly found in pronominal function as copulative stems:

e.g. ndeicici (it is this very one)

c/ Much more common

than the above (b/) is the triplicated form without initial vowel. All the forms for the various classes are given since the vowel changes follow a somewhat complicated pattern.

	<u>1st. position</u>	<u>2nd. position.</u>
Class 1	yuyuyu	yoyoyo
2	vavava	vavavo
3	uyuyu	oyoyo
4	yiyiyi	yoyoyo
5	ririri	rororo
6	ayaya	ayayo
7	cicici	cococo
8	zizizi	zozozo
9	yiyiyi	yoyoyo
10.	dzidzidzi	dzodzodzo

	<u>1st. position.</u>	<u>2nd. position.</u>
Class 11	rwurwurwu	rworworwo
13	kakaka	kakako
12	twutwutwu	twotwotwo
14	hwuhwuhwu	hwohwohwo
15	kukuku	kokoko
16	papapa	papapo
17	kukuku	kokoko
18	mumumu	momomo
19	sisisi	soşoso

These forms consist of triplications of the second syllable of the basic forms for the 1st. and 2nd. positions. But in classes 3 and 6, there is no commencing semivowel and in classes whose characteristic prefixal vowel is a, the forms of the 2nd. position have only final vowel changed to o.

These forms are very emphatic meaning 'this very this' and 'that very that'.

318.

2) The absolute pronoun + demonstrative.

a/ Forms for the positions.

These forms are composed of the absolute pronoun + the enclitic form of the demonstrative, either single or re-duplicated. Since the vowels of the basic stems of the absolute pronouns in classes with characteristic prefixal vowel a have been assimilated from o to a, the full table of forms consisting of absolute pronoun + single enclitic stem for each position is set out:

	<u>1st. position.</u>	<u>2nd. position.</u>
Class 1	iyeyu (this itself)	iyeyo (that itself)
2	iwawa	iwawo
3	iwoyu ¹	iwoyo
4	iyoyi	iyoyo
5	irori	iroro
6	iwaya ¹	iwayo
7	icoci	icoco
8	izozi	izozo
9	iyoyi	iyoyo
10	idzodzi	idzodzo
11	irworwu	irworwo
13	ikaka	ikako
12	itwotwu	itwotwo
14	ihwohwu ²	ihwohwo
15	ikoku	ikoko
16	ipapa	ipapo
17	ikoku	ikoko
18	imomu	imomo
19	igosi	igoso

1. In Ka. the forms for class 3 are generally iwowu, iwowo; those for class 6, iwawa, iwawo.

2. In Ka. the forms for class 14 are ibgobgu, ibgobgo.

As indicated above, forms exist with the reduplicated enclitic demonstrative:

e.g. iyeyuyu (this very itself) iyeyoyo (that very itself) (1)
 iuauaua (these very themselves) iuauouo (those very themselves) (2)
 icocici (this very itself) icococo (that very itself) (7)

But, in deliberate speech, these may be heard as :

iyeyu uyu, iuaua aua, icoci ici etc.

One may also hear the further combinations:

iyeyuyu uyu (this very itself this) (1)
 iwayaya aya (these very themselves these) (6)
 icocici ici (this very itself this) (1)

Two difficulties against the explanation adopted here, that these compound forms incorporate the absolute pronoun, may be made : 1) that in the classes with characteristic prefixal vowel a, there is no sign of the o, the terminative of all the absolute pronouns from classes 2 - 19. We find indeed ico-co, but not ipopa. Instead, there is ipapa universally.

2) In some dialects, e.g. Njanja and forms in Ka. (cp. Louw p. 50), the distribution of the second vowel in these compound forms is more harmonious and shows a further departure from uniform o. In these dialects, classes with characteristic prefixal vowel a have a,
 i have e,
 u have o,

e.g. iuaua (2) cp. Ze. iuaua (2)
 ireri (5) irori (5)
 iwoyu (3) iwoyu (3)

These difficulties may perhaps be met by postulating the influence of vowel assimilation, the vowel o of the absolute pronominal basic stem having become a before a, e.g. iuaua in the example above, and become e before i, e.g. ireri in the example above.

It is further possible that these forms with three vowels may have been imported from Kalanga by the Rozi. In Kalanga the basic forms of the 1st. position for classes 2, 5 and 3 are: aua, eli and cyu.

Evidence for the presence of the absolute pronoun as a factor in these forms lies in the form of the compound demonstratives of class 1 viz. iyeyu (this himself), iveyo (that himself) and that the emphasis of these forms is just such a function as the absolute pronoun would lend itself to. Further, it is certainly used with the precised positions (see below) and in other Bantu languages the absolute pronoun is combined with demonstratives in emphatic forms. Thus

e.g. (Zulu) yena lomuntu (this same person) (1) 1
 zona lezizinkomo (these very same cattle) (10)

(Sotho) bosiung bona boo (in that very night²) (14)

(Swahili) neno lili hili (the very same word³) (5)

Since there is a great deal of dialectal variation in the vowels and semivowels of the demonstratives which have been given, the tables cannot be regarded as exhaustive nor the explanations as final.

319.

b/ Forms for the precised positions.

In these cases, the compound forms are made up of absolute pronoun + demonstrative. They function, as the others, as a compound qualificative. Since the formation is straightforward, only a few examples need be given:

e.g. iye-uno (this same here)
 (this itself here) (1) 1st. precised position
 iye-uye (that itself there) (1) 2nd.
 iro-rino (this same here) (5) 1st.
 iro-riye (that same there) (5) 2nd.

320.

Further examples of the enclitic use of demonstratives.

The enclitic use of the demonstratives, 1st. and 2nd. position, extends wider than its use in the formation of reduplicated and compound demonstratives. They are found enclitic to nouns, absolute pronouns, qualificative pronouns and qualificatives.

1. Doke, Zulu par. 228

2. B.A. Paroz, Elements of Southern Sotho; Morija p.67

3. Ashton, p. 306.

With nouns:

- e.g. munhuyu (this person) (1)
munhuyo (that person) (1)
cigaroci (this chair) (7)
cigaroco (that chair) (7)

Musikanayo wakaenda, kampanako kanoramba (that girl went, but that little child refuses) (13)
Gengetayi muto-murumanorwu (Keep the soup in this pair of pincers). (11)
Kubvira musiyo (Ever since that day) (3)
nguvadzo (those times) (10)

With absolute pronouns they form compound demonstratives.

- e.g. munhu iyeyu (this same person) (1)

With qualificative pronouns:

- adjectival : e.g. mukuruyu (this big one) (1)
- enumerative: e.g. mumpeyo (that other) (1)
- possessive: e.g. pedupo (in that position of ours) (16)
cagucui (in this my fashion) (7)
- relative : e.g. wakanakayo (that good one) (1)
cakashataco (that ugly one) (7)

Mwanga nokumborota kwese kunezaarayirwazo
(Mwanga didn't even dream about those instructions) (8)

With qualificatives:

Not with adjectival qualificatives as they usually are preceded by demonstratives:

- e.g. munhu uyu mukuru (this big person) (1)
cigaro ici cidiki (this small chair) (7)

but extensively with possessives which are followed, in normal word order, by demonstratives.

- e.g. dana ravanhuro (that band of people) (5)

..zimpe kana munhu uyo ari ani zake, kana akave mambo wofugandayo (...whether that person be any one at all, even that king of Uganda). (1)

cigaro cakoci (this chair of yours) (7)

..nomuromo wakoyu usingamharwe nenhunzi (...with this mouth of yours which cannot be lighted on by a fly - i.e. being so talkative). (3)

ndizozo zakarezo (it is the same as before) (8)

Ngatidzokere nenzira yakareyo (Let us return by that same path) . (9)

With enumeratives:

- e.g. munhu mampeyo (that one person) (1) Ma.
biza rimpero (that one horse) (5) Ma.

No examples with quantitatives or relatives have been noted.

321.

Significance and use:

The demonstrative, 1st. position, indicates proximity to the speaker in place or conception.

e.g. Shumba yakati: "Hatidyeyi vana ava" (The lion said: "Let us eat these children")

Kusaziwa uku kunopinza munhamo (This ignorance leads into trouble).

Ari mumba umu (He is in this house).

Mugore iri vakarumpha nenzara (In this year they were afflicted with hunger)

Mpedzi uyu vanhu vanokumbirwa kunamatira vafi (In this month (which is coming) people are asked to pray for the dead).

Hwahwa uhwu hwakanga hwanzi : "Hunozorimisa munda" (This beer was intended for getting the field hoed).

This demonstrative, then, refers to times or objects which may be past or future, but which are present in conception.

The demonstrative, 2nd. position, indicates distance from the speaker in place or conception. Increased distance is indicated by higher pitch and lengthened final vowel. Objects referred to by this demonstrative in the present must be within sight.

e.g. Shambari, ciyiko ico camunokwevera mushure menyu? (Friend, what is that which you are pulling along behind you ?)

Kupera kwazakaita ndiko uku: munda uyo wakazodyiwa nezikara zesango (The outcome of what happened is this: that field was eventually eaten by the wild beasts of the veld).

Citevera kuri kuenda vadzimai awo: ndiko kunedoro (Follow now where those women are going; it is there that there is beer).

Tarisa muti uyo nomuti uyoo (Look at that tree and that tree further).

Gore iro, nayi, vakatambudzika kwazo (In that year, I say, they were afflicted very much)

Nesondo iro, pakare, tinokumbirwa kuti tisatsire varombe (And in that week, too, we are asked to help the poor people).

The demonstratives, 1st. precised position, indicate objects contiguous to the speaker or times contemporaneous with him.

e.g. cigaro cino (this chair - I am on)
imba ino (this house - we are in)
muti uno (this tree - we are under)

mpedzi uno (this month)
 zuva rino (today)
 nhasi uno (today)
 sondo rino (this week)
 husiku huno (this night)
 gore rino (this year)
 zino huno (this moment) in quick speech becomes zinono.
 Mpedzi uno basa rava shoma (This month work is scarce)

Mazuva ano tinozorora (These days we rest).

Nyika dzedu dzino (These our lands)

Mumba muno (In this house - where we are).

The demonstratives of the 2nd. precised position indicate objects out of sight in space or distant in time, both, however, known to the one addressed. In stories, these demonstratives are used to refer to characters and objects mentioned before.

e.g. musha uye (that village - which you recall having passed)

Akafamba musango müye ndokuwana howa hushomanana, ndokutanga kudzura howa huye (He walked in that veld and found a very few mushrooms, and he began to pluck those mushrooms).

Gore rino tinofara panegore riye (This year we are happier than that year)

322.

Examples of the compound demonstratives:

- the reduplicated forms:

e.g. Nyika yiyiyi inondinakidza (This selfsame country pleases me)

Zimbga ririri rapedza hari dzavanhu (This lump of a dog has destroyed people's pots),

Zinhema ririri (This same big rascal)

Cigaro cicici cakaitisa nharo kwazo (This same seat caused a quarrel indeed).

- the compound demonstratives:- the positions:

e.g. Ezo hamba yakapa bveni mhosa panomutongi iyeyo (So the tortoise accused the baboon before that same judge).

Basa rokuruka tsero lbasa ravarume, kwete varume vose, cete svo varume vanoziwa iroro basa rokuruka (The work of weaving baskets is men's work, not all men, but only those men who know that particular work of weaving).

Kufika ikoku handikuziwe (This particular cooking I don't know)

Ndakatevera nenzira iyoyo yavakaenda nayo (I followed by the same path which they had gone by)

demo iroro ravakatema naro basa vake rakanga risiri ravo (That axe with which his father chopped was not his own).

Easa irori harizivikanwe navazhinji (This special work is not known by many).

= the precised positions:

e.g. Cigaro ico-cino candakagara hacizi cangu (This very chair here which I sat on is not mine)

Iro-rino gore ratiri (This very year we are in)

ihwo-huno husiku (this selfsame night)

Imo-muno mumba munamakonzō (In this very house there are rats).

Iro-tiye gore ratakaenda Harare (That same year in which we went to Salisbury).

Iko-kuye kuſika ndokwavaRungu, hakusi kwavanhu (That particular cooking is European, not native).

In most of the above examples, the qualificative precedes the noun it is qualifying because it is being stressed.

c) The enumerative qualificative.

323.

The enumerative qualificative is a word which expresses certain selective properties as possessed by a substantive and which is brought into concordial relationship with it by the enumerative concord.

324.

There are four enumerative stems in Shona, all of them selective in one way or another:

viz. -mpe (with high tone) (one, ones)

-mpe (with low tone) (another, a certain, others,
certain)

-pi ? (which ?)

¹
-yi ? (what sort of ?)

It will be noted that two of these stems are interrogative.

-
1. This is found as -nyi ? in Ma. and some dialects of Ka.

In classes 1, 3 and 6, there are two types of concords, strong (containing a nasal consonant) and weak (not containing a nasal consonant); and enumerative stems are divided into strong and weak according as they take the strong and the weak concords in these classes.

In Ze. and Ka. the stems -mne (one), -mne (other) and -yi ? are strong, the stem -pi ? is weak.

In Ma. the stem -nyi ? is strong, the stem -mne (one), -mne (other) and -pi ? are weak.

List of enumerative concords for each class, including the dichotomy of strong and weak where this occurs:

Class 1	Strong: mu-	Class 2	----	va-
	Weak: u-			
3	Strong: mu-	4	Strong:	mi-
	Weak: u		Weak:	i-
5	---- ri-	6	Strong:	ma-
			Weak:	a-
7	---- ci-	8	----	zi-
9	---- i-	10	----	dzi-
11	---- ru-			
13	---- ka-	12	----	tu-
		1		
	Class 14	hu-		
		15	ku-	
		16	pa-	
		17	ku-	
		18	mu-	
19	---- si-			

1/ The stem -mge (one).

In the singular, this stem means 'one', the numeral. It is usually described by the adverb cete (only) in Ze. while in Ka. it is accompanied by the quantitative qualificative of the same class as the qualificate.²

e.g. munhu mumge cete (one person) Ze.
munhu mumge woga (one child) Ka.

Rega kuſika nhanga rose, ſika cimhedu cimge
cete (Don't cook the whole pumpkin, cook
one part only)

In the plural, the stem was not encountered save as part of a qualificative combination meaning 'the same'.

e.g. Ndinoda biza rimge (I want one horse)

Ndinoda mabiza mamge akarewo (I want the same
horses) Ze.

Ndinoda mabiza mamgeyo (I want the same horses) Ma.

Ndinoda mombe dzimge dzakaredzo (I want the same
cattle) Ze.

1. This is vu- in Ka.

2. Cf. O'Neill, p. 86

But cp. the following example:

Isu tose tiri vampe cete (We all are only one)¹

In the singular, this enumerative is reduplicated and joined by conjunctive formative na- (with) to form a compound qualificative meaning 'each one'.

e.g. Mbada yakauraya imbga imge neimge (The leopard killed each dog)

Mukomana mumge nomumge aneimbga yake (Each boy has his dog).

zuwa rimge nerimge (each day).

328.

2/ The stem -mge (other)

In the singular, this stem means 'another' or 'a certain', in the plural 'others' or 'certain'. This qualificative often precedes in qualificate since speakers usually want to stress it. But it may be found following as well.

e.g. Ndinoda rimge biza (I want another horse)

Ndinoda mamge mabiza (I want other horses)

Rimge zuwa makudo maviri akaenda kuneimge nyika iri kure (On a certain day, two baboons went to another country far away)

Asi makudo awo akasika paneimge nanga (But those baboons reached a certain doctor)

Ndakacengeta imge hama yangu (I kept a certain relative of mine)

Uaka dzimge dzimba (Build other houses).

Mudandira iri mhuka hadziwiremo dzoga, kwete; dzinoto tinhirwa kwazo naganhu ari masikati. Zino dzimge hunza hadzinzarwo (The animals do not fall into the game trench by themselves, no; they are just driven in hard by the people during the day. Now the other game pits are not treated like that).

When persons or things are contrasted, it is this stem which is used.

e.g. Vamge vasikana varefu, vamge vapfupi (Some girls are tall, others are short).

Mamge mazuba anorwara, mamge anobuda zake (Some days he is sick, others he goes out).

1. Marconnès, par. 205.

329.

3/ The stem -pi ? (which?)

This stem is weak in all dialect-groups.

e.g. Maksona mabiza api ? (Which horses did you see ?)

Tinoenda nenzira ipi ? (Along which path do we go ?)

In a stressed position, it usually precedes the noun qualificate and as the stem of an impersonal copulative.

e.g. Ndoupi mukoma wangu wawakaona ? (Which elder brother of mine did you see ? - lit. It is which elder brother of mine that you saw ?)

Nderipi basa raunoda ? (Which work do you like ?)

When reduplicated with the conjunctive formative na- (with), the compound qualificative thus formed means 'every, whichever, any at all' and loses its interrogative note.

eg. Kunyangwe ndikaita cinhu cipi necipi, handikwanise kukutendayi mose (Although I do anything at all, I cannot thank you all - viz. Whatever I do, I cannot thank you all).

Anotenga mombe dzipi nedzipi (He buys any cattle at all)

Cinhu cipi necipi camunozosugga pasi (Whatever you shall bind on earth...)

Imbga ipi neipi inezuva rayo (Every dog has his day).

330.

4/ The stem -yi ? (What sort of ?)

This interrogative qualificative is used in questions when, the class of an object being discussed having been grasped, its name has not been conveyed.

e.g. Uri kureva munhu muyi ? (What sort of a person are you discussing ?)

Uri kureva muti muyi ? (What sort of a tree are you discussing)

When reduplicated and joined by the conjunctive formative na- (with), the compound qualificative thus formed means 'whatever', thus losing its interrogative note.

e.g. Cinhu ciyi neciyi cirimo, ndinocibisa (Whatever is inside, I will take it).

d) The quantitative qualificative.

331.

The quantitative qualificative is a word which expresses certain exclusive properties as possessed by a substantive and which is brought into concordial relationship with it by the quantitative concord.

332.

There are three quantitative stems in Shona:

viz. -se (the whole of, all)

-ga (alone)

-mene (self) ¹

These qualificatives qualify not only nouns and pronouns of the 3rd. person, singular and plural, but also absolute pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. person, in which case proper quantitative concords for the 1st. and 2nd. persons are used.

333.

Table of quantitative concords:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No. number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st. person	ndo-		to-
2nd. person	wo-		mo-
3rd. person, class 1: wo-/o-			class 2: wo-
	3: wo-		4: yo-
	5: ro-		6: o-
	7: co-		8: zo-
	9: yo-		10: dzo-
	11: rwo-		
	13: ko-		12: two-
		²	
		Class 14: hwo-	
		15: kwo-	
		16: po-	
		17: kwo-	
		18: mo-	
	19: so-		

1. As a quantitative stem, only in Ka. e.g. cigaro comene (the chair itself, the same chair). Even here, quantitative concords are alternative to a set of concords which, judging from the form of that of class 1, seem to be participial present, e.g. munhu amene (the man himself). pto.

2. pto.

(footnote from the previous page continued)

The Ze. and Ma. equivalents to this qualificative are the appositional uses of the nouns mene and mbune respectively. They are found in apposition to the absolute pronoun.

e.g. ini mene (I myself) Ze. ini mbune (I myself) Ma.
cigaro ico ~~si~~ mene cigaro ico mbune
(the chair itself) ZA. (the chair itself) Ma.

2. In Ka. this concord is bgo-.

Alternative forms of the concords with vowel e substituted for o are common in Ze. Ka. inclines to the forms in vowel o while Ma. uses the forms with e. In the latter dialect, the form for the 2nd. person, plural is often mne-.

334.

Examples of the use of the quantitatives.

e.g. ini ndose (my whole self)
iye wose (the whole of him)
isu tose (all of us)
imi mose (all of you)
ivo vose (all of them)

ini ndoga (I alone)
iye woga (he alone)

Ini ndose munhu wakadayi ndingaite zohupxere
here ? (lit. All of me, a person like this,
would I do childish things ?)

Uarume vose vakaenda kundovima (All the men went to
hunt).

Mhuka dzose dzinofura ipapo (All the animals graze
in that same place).

Nzizi dzose dzakapxa (All the rivers dried up).

Huku idzo dzoga dzasara (Those fowls alone remain).

Mbudzi idzi dzose ndedzangu (All those goats are mine)

zuva rose (all day)
mazuva ose (every day)

Ka. mambo omene (the chief himself)

In the case of the stem -mene, which is making its way into Ze. from Ka., 3rd. person forms are sometimes used to qualify 1st. and 2nd. person pronouns.

e.g. paneni womene (by me myself)
isu vomene (we ourselves)

cp. paneni mbune (by me myself) Ma.
ngembune yangu (by my own accord).

335.

In sentences with negative intent, the quantitative -se indicates 'any at all', 'in the least' etc.

e.g. *vasina-cokudya cose* (without any food at all)

Yainge isina-nzimbo yekugara nekudya kwese (He was without a place to stay and without food at all).

Handina kumbomuona napaduku pose (I haven't seen him - even in the slightest).

Wobva watoshaya nekaduku-duku kese (And so you just lack even the smallest thing).

Handina kumukwazisa nakashoma kose (I didn't greet him at all).

336.

With an accompanying adjectival stem indicating number, the quantitative stem -se becomes inclusive.

e.g. *imbga mbiri dzose* (both dogs) ²

zigaro zitatu zose (all three chairs)

cp. *rubiri rwose* (full two times)

337.

Reduplicated forms of the quantitatives in -se and -ga are frequently in use. They indicate, respectively, 'absolutely all, every', and 'each', the stem in -ga being usually in the singular.

e.g. *Munhu wose-wose anoda rupenyu rwake* (Every man loves his own life).

Muti wose-wose unozocakwa (Every tree will be cut).

Wakakoka hama dzake dzose-dzose (He invited absolutely all his relatives).

Mukadzi woga-woga anorima munda wake (Each wife tills her own field).

Imba yoga-yoga inecivanze cayo (Each house has its yard)

Uanhu voga-voga vanosungirwa kuuya (Each and every person is obliged to come).

cp. *Ini ndomene-mene* (my very self)

1. Cp. par. 213 for formative ka- and concords.

2. Cf. Louw, p. 48

3. Cf. Marconnès, parr. 206-7.

e) The possessive qualificative.

338.

The possessive qualificative is a word which expresses the property of being possessed as belonging to a substantive, and which is brought into concordial relationship with it by the possessive concord.

339.

Possessive qualificatives, like all other qualificatives save the invariable qualificative, are composed of two parts: 1) the concord and 2) the stem - in this case, the possessive stem. The possessive concord agrees with the thing possessed or possessee. The possessive stem agrees with, or indicates, the possessor.¹

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Possessives may be divided according to the nature of the possessive stem.² In Shona, the possessive stem may be:

- 1) a primitive pronominal possessive stem;
- 2) a noun;
- 3) a pronoun - absolute or qualificative;
- 4) an adverb.³

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List of possessive concords:

The concord of the possessive qualificative agrees in class with that of the possessee;

e.g. *cigaro cangu* (my seat).

Forms for the 3rd. person alone exist. Where the possessee are pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons, the possessive concords agreeing with them are of the 3rd. person, classes 1 and 2.

1. Cp. Doke, Zulu, p. 109

2. In meaning, possessives, often qualify by indicating possession by an owner, e.g. *imba yaḁaḁa* (the house of father). But, very often, a possessive indicates, not ownership, but possession in terms of the material an object is made out of (and so is possessed by), the end it is put to (and thus is possessed by) etc. e.g. *hari dzevu* (pots of clay); *hari dzokuḁika* (cooking pots). On this ground some grammarians do not use the term possessive concord as being too restricted. Cp. Ashton, p. 145, where these qualificatives are termed Phrases based on the -A of Relationship. And Cp. Marconnès, par. 424.

3. The relative stem in relative qualificatives of indirect relation is, very likely, a fifth example of a possessive stem. This is dealt with under the heading of the relative qualificative.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
Class 1	wa-		Class 2	va-
3	wa-		4	ya-
5	ra-		6	a-
7	ca-		8	za-
9	ya-		10	dza-
11	rwa- ¹			
13	ka-	1	12	twa-
		Class 14		
		15		
		16		
		17		
		18		
19	sa-	hwa-		
		kwa-		
		pa-		
		kwa-		
		ma-/mja- ²		

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The formation of the possessive concord:

The possessive concord is formed by prefixing the basic subject concord to the vowel a. Where the subject concord consists of the vowels i or u, these are changed into the corresponding semi-vowels y or w.³

Thus: $i + a > ya-$; $u + a > wa-$.

Where the subject concord consists of the vowel a,

then $a + a > a$.

Where the subject concord is a consonant + vowel a or i, then these vowels are elided.

Thus, e.g. $ci + a > ca$; $ka + a > ka-$.

But where the subject concord consists of a consonant + u,⁴ then $u \rightarrow w$, and after non-velar and non-glottal consonants, the familiar velar consonant emerges.

Thus, $ru + a > rwa-$; $hu + a > hwa-$.

This velar replaces the semi-vowel after certain labial consonants, as in the Ka. form of class 14 and certain Ma. forms of class 18.

Thus, $vu + a > bga-$; $mu + a > mja-$.

1. In Mari, the possessive concord of class 11 is gwa-, in Ka., that of class 14 is bga-.
2. The second form is found in certain Ma. dialects.
3. The subject concord of class 1 is u- in most Shona dialects, but is a- in Ze.
4. Save in class 18, 1st. form.

343.

1) Possessive with primitive pronominal stems.

The primitive pronominal possessive stems:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No Number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
			2
1st. pers.	-ngu		-idu
2nd pers.	-ko		-inyu
3rd.pers class 1	-ke	Class 2:	-oo

The stems for classes 2 - 19 are the basic stems of the absolute pronouns, viz. the absolute pronoun minus prothetic i-.

class 3	-wo	Class 4:	-yo
5	-ro	6	-wo
7	-co	8	-zo
9	-yo	10	-dzo
11	-rwo		
13	-ko	3	12 -two
		class 14	-hwo
		15	-kwo
		16	-po
		17	-kwo
		18	-mo
19	-so		

The form possessives with these stems, the possessive concord is prefixed to the stem. When the possessive concord is prefixed to the form for the 1st. and 2nd. persons, plural, coalescence of vowels results in forms like the following:

e.g. wa- + idu > wedu (1) ; wa- + inyu > wenyu (1)

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Examples of possessive qualificatives with primitive pronominal possessive stems:

e.g. 1st. and 2nd person possessors are indicated by stems of their own, but 1st. and 2nd. person possessee are indicated by 3rd. person, class 1 and 2 concords.

ini wenyu wamunoda (lit. your me whom you love)

Ndapedza ndini wenyu wamunoda (I have finished, being yours (lit. your me) whom you love)

ini wenyu (your me)	isu wenyu (your we)
iwe wedu (our you)	imi vangu (my ye)
iye wabo (their he)	iwo wenyu (your they)

1. The 3rd.person, class 1 form is found as -kwe in some Ka.
2. Old Ma. used -su and -nu respectively for the 1st. and 2nd. persons, plural. E.g. Tingoenda hasu, equivalent to the modern form Tinoenda hedu (For our part, we are going).
(From MSS notes on Shona by C.M.Doke). Cp. Venda where the corresponding forms are -shu and -nu.
3. In Ka. this is -bgo.

Tarisa murume nomukadzi wake (Look at the man and his wife)

- .. varume navakadzi vavo (..... the men and their wives)
- .. musha nomuti wawo (Look at the village and its trees)
- .. musha nemiti yayo (.... .. the villages and their trees)
- .. buve nedandadzi raro (Look at the spider and its web)
- .. mabuve namatandadzi awo)..... the spiders and their webs)
- .. capungu namapapiro aco) Look at the eagle and its wings)
- .. zapungu namapapiro azo) the eagles and their wings)
- .. imbga nomwana wayo (Look at the dog and its pup)
- .. imbga navana vadzo (.... .. the dogs and their pup)
- .. rukova namahombekombe arwo (Look at the river and its banks)
- .. kamwana nembga yako (Look at the little child and his dog)
- .. tuwana nembga dzatwo) the little children and their dogs)
- .. hwahwa negafa rahwo (Look at the beer and its mug)

Kufika nezombo zakwo (Cooking and its utensils)

Pamusha nedzimba dzapo (At home and the houses (of) there)

Kumusha navanhu vakwo (Home and the people (of) there)

Muhari nemvura yamo (In the pot and the water (of the) inside).

e.g. Murume wakaenda nehama dzake (The man went with his relatives).

Amai venyu varipo here ? (Is your mother well?)

Inga, mbava yangu yandiuraya nhasi ! (Indeed, my thief has killed me today - viz. I have suffered a loss by theft today).

In one or two cases, the possessive concord has been elided and the possessive stem suffixed to the substantive to form a compound noun.

e.g. mwanangu ! (my child !)
babaangu wee ! (my father !)

-
1. Cp. O'Neil, p. 50 for the interjective use of noun + possessive. e.g. hurema hwako ! (How stupid you are; lit. your stupidity !)
In Ma. the possessive stem -co is coming in as a slang variant for the possessive stems of class 1 and even other classes. e.g. mai waco (his mother); mukunda waco (her daughter)

345.

2) Possessive qualificatives with noun stems.

When possessive concords are prefixed to noun stems, coalescence takes place between the vowel a of the possessive concord and the latent initial vowel of the noun prefix.

Before noun prefixes with latent initial vowel i, a + i > e

... .. u, a + u > o

... .. a, a + a > a

e.g. gumbo reshumba <ra- + (i) shumba (the leg of the lion)
gumbo romukadzi <ra- + (u) mukadzi (.....woman)
gumbo rakamjana <ra- + (a) kamjana (.....small child)

Instead of coalescence of this kind, Ma. substitutes the vowel e for a throughout, irrespective of latent initial vowel.

e.g. gumbo reshumba
gumbo remukadzi
gumbo rekamjana.

This process of substitution is gradually replacing the process of coalescence in Ze. and, to a lesser extent, in Ka.

Before nouns of classes 1a and 2a which have no latent initial vowel, the vowel a remains unchanged in all dialects.

e.g. gumbo raḡaḡa (father's leg).
346.

The above processes of coalescence and substitution apply to the qualificative pronouns also when these are used as possessive stems. Pronouns whose concords, or whose forms, concordially constructed, are based upon noun prefixes with vowel i, have an inherent initial i. Those based upon noun prefixes with vowels u or a have similarly inherent initial u or a.

e.g. (i) huru (9) (big one)
(i) idzi (10) (these ones)
(u) mukuru (1) (big one)
(u) wangu (1) (mine)
(a) vakuru (2) (big ones)
(a) vame (2) (other ones)

347.

Examples of possessive qualificatives with noun stems:

a/ possession of ownership

mukwasha waShoniwa (Shoniwa's son-in-law)
musha wavaRozi (the Rozis' village)

ruoko rwetsoko (the monkey's paw)
dare rashe (the chief's council-place)

b/ The following examples show possessives which are descriptive rather than possessive in the strict sense:

e.g. mazwi ehasha (angry words)
mukono wembada (a male leopard)
gadzi rebiza (a female horse- a mare)
munhu wohukari (a fierce man)

Cengetayi zio zenzara (Keep the corn-against-hunger)

mhene yomukono (male lightning)
shamjari yapemoyo (bosom friend)
ciZezuru cecembere (Old women's Zezuru, fluent Zezuru)

348.

Many descriptive ideas are conveyed in this way with stems which are infinitives - nouns of class 15¹. Such stems, in accordance with their verbal nature, may incorporate the various verbal formatives and derivative suffixes, govern an object and its extension, or be described by an adverbial. Such possessives, then, will often be qualificative phrases.

e.g. hosha yokufa (a deadly disease)
mazwi okupedzisa (final words)
matama okutsamjisa (perplexing news)
mupemhi wokusatenda (ungrateful beggar)
muti wokuti (such a tree)
zinhu zokudayi (things like this)
ciZezuru cokukumbirisa mvura (Zezuru enabling to ask for water, halting Zezuru).
moto wokuvabikisira (fire to cook for them)
hari dzokufika (cooking pots)
mazano okunyengedza vampe (plans for deceiving others)
nzira yokufamba nayo (a path by which to walk)
rukova rwokugara panyasi pawo (a river beside which to sit)
ivu rokunamisa imba (clay for smearing the house)
Rimpe zuva musikana wakaimba rwiyo rwake rwokusanduka nokuva shumba (One day the girl sang her song for her to change and become a lion)
mari yokuzotenga cimpe cinhu cokumupa musi waanenge abuda kuti azive kuti vanhu vanemoyo wokutenda (money to buy something to give him on the day when he leaves so that he may know that the people have a grateful heart).

1. Cp. Marconnès, par. 427.

349.

3) Possessive qualificatives with pronominal stems.

These pronominal stems are either the absolute pronouns or the qualificative pronouns.

a) The absolute pronouns

The absolute pronouns are used as possessive stems instead of the primitive pronominal possessive stems when there is a substantive in apposition to the pronominal possessor.¹

- e.g. Ciremba catora zino reni, harawa (The doctor took the tooth of me, an old man)
Ndinoda tsika dzemi, vatema (I like the customs of your black people)
Mukati memi vampe makadaro (In the midst of you others who are like that..)
Iye akapiwa mombe dzaiye murombe (He was given the cattle of him, the poor man).

350.

b) The qualificative pronouns.

In this division we must give examples of the various types of qualificative pronoun, all of which act as possessive stems, viz. the adjectival, the demonstrative, the enumerative, the quantitative, the possessive and the relative.

1/ the adjectival qualificative pronoun as possessive stem:

e.g. Common examples are the ordinal stems.

- munhu weciposhi (the first person)
muti wecipiri (the second tree)
danga recitatu (the third pen)
cigaro cecina (the fourth seat)
mombe yecishanu (the fifth beast)
rwizi rwecitanhatu (the sixth river)
kamjana kecinompe (the seventh small child)
husiku hwarusere (the eighth night)
ku6ika kwecipfumbampe (the ninth cooking)

other examples:

- imba yomudiki (the house of the small one)
imba yomutsuku (the house of the red one)

1. Cp. Marconnès, par. 426. Note that with absolute pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons, the possessive concord undergoes coalescence with the initial vowel i-. With the pronouns of the 3rd. person, there is some variation, forms with the basic stem and with the whole pronoun being found.

e.g. mombe dzaye, or mombe dzaiye, sekuru wangu (the cattle of my uncle himself)

Examples of possessive constructions involving
 adjectival pronominal stems and signifying description
 rather possession are not frequent.¹

e.g. Munhu womukuru unoita sey1 ? (How are you behaving-
 you a big person ?)
 Munhu womutema unozëveyi ? (What do you, a black
 man, know ?)
 sadza rejena (very white porridge)

351.

11/ The demonstrative qualificative pronouns as
 possessive stems:

The basic demonstratives.

The vowel of the possessive concord is assimilated to
 the characteristic vowel of the demonstrative in the same
 way as under the influence of a latent initial vowel of the
 noun prefix.

e.g. Basa rouyu (3 - eg. mpedzi) (the work of this one
 (eg. the month we are
 talking of))
 Basa rouyo (1 - eg. munhu) (the work of that one
 (eg. the person over there))
 Basa rouno (3 - eg. mpedzi) (the work of this one
 here (eg. the month we are
 in))
 Basa rouye (1 - eg. munhu) (the work of that one
 there (eg. that person
 we now recall))
 Sadza is asked: "Basa rake aneita rey1, iye
 Sadza ?"
 (Of what kind is the work which
 Sadza does ?)
 Sadza replies: "Basa rouno Sadza nderokusona".
 (The work of this Sadza here (viz.
 of myself) is that of sewing).
 Basa rouye watasangana naye nderokudiraiva (The
 work of that one which we met is that of
 driving).

The case is similar with the demonstratives instancing
 vowels i and a.

e.g. Basa reiy1 (9 - eg. nzimbo) (the work of this one
 (eg. place)).

Basa raaya (6 - eg. mazuva) (the work of these
 ones (eg. days))

1. But Cp. Marconnès, par. 156, where this type of construction
 is said to lay stress on the qualificative and to be more
 emphatic than the merely qualificative use of the
 adjectival stem.

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The reduplicated and compound forms of the demonstratives may also act as possessive stems. In the case of the reduplicated forms, the same assimilation of the vowel a of the possessive concord to the inherent vowel is observed; not, however, in the case of the compound forms which commence with the absolute pronoun.

The reduplicated forms.

In the reduplicated forms of the demonstrative, the initial vowel coalesces with the vowel of the possessive concord. In the triplicated form, vowel a of the possessive concord is assimilated to the characteristic vowel of the demonstrative.

- e.g. *ḡasa royuyu* (1) (the work of this very one) (eg. person)
nenzira yezizi (8) (by reason of these very ones) (eg. things)
ḡasa rapapa (16) (the work of this very one) (eg. place)
ḡasa royuyuyu (1) (the work of this very this one.)
waroyi vezizizi (8) (the wizards of these very these ones)
ḡasa rapapapa (16) (the work of this very one this)

The compound forms.

- ḡasa raiyeyu* (1) (the work of this one himself) (eg. person)
ḡasa raidzodzi (10) (the work of these ones themselves) (eg. cattle)
ḡasa raipapa (16) (the work of this very one itself) (eg. place)

353.

iii/ The enumerative qualificative pronouns as possessive stems.

The vowel a of the possessive concord coalesces with the latent initial vowel inherent in the enumerative concord.

- e.g. *Tora nhumbi dzomumpe* (eg. munhu) (Take the things of another) (eg. person)
Idzi inhumbi dzoupi ? (eg. munhu) (These are the things of which ? (eg. person))
Kutaura kweciyi kwakadaro ? (eg. cinhu) (Talking of what (eg. thing) is like that?)

354.

iv/ The quantitative qualificative pronoun as possessive stem:

Quantitatives of single stem -se may serve as possessive stems, but not, it seems, quantitatives of single stem -ga. Reduplicated forms of both stems may serve as possessive stems. In all cases there is coalescence between the vowel a of the possessive concord and the vowel inherent in the quantitative concord.

e.g. Idanga redzose (eg. mombe) (It is the pen of them all (eg. cattle))

Ndinoziwa zita reyoga-yoga (eg. mombe) (I know the name of each one (eg. beast))

Mazita avose-vose (eg. vanhu) (The names of absolutely all of them (eg. persons))

355.

v/ The possessive qualificative pronouns as possessive stems:

Possessive qualificative pronouns already consist of possessive concord and possessive stem. As pronouns these possessives may function as possessive stems, the characteristic vowel inherent in the possessive concord coalescing with the vowel a of the second possessive concord.

Examples of possessive qualificatives formed with possessive stem:-

<u>The stems</u>	<u>The possessives formed from them.</u>
wangu (eg. musha) (3) (mine (eg.village))	dzimba dzowangu (the houses of mine)
womurume (eg.muviri) (3) (the man's (eg.body))	kukora kwowomurume (the fatness of the man's)
yesu (eg.nyika) (9) (ours (eg.country))	mutauro weyesu, vatema (the speech of ours, we blacks)
womukuru (eg.muviri) (3) (the big one's (eg.body))	kukora kwowomukuru (the fatness of the big one's)
wouyu (eg.muviri) (3) (this one's (eg.body))	kukora kwowouyu (the fatness of this one's)
wedzose (eg.muridzi) (1) (of them all (eg.owner))	kusika kwowedzose (the arrival of theirs all)
womumpe (eg. muviri) (3)	kurema kwowomumpe (the weight of another's)
zowangu (eg.zio, munda) (of mine, mine's (e.g. corn of my field))	kuwanda kwezowangu (the abundance of mine's)

e.g. Ungaenzanise kusimba kworuoko rwomukadzi nokworwo-murume here ? (Can you compare the strength of a woman's arm with that of a man's ?)

356.

vi/ The relative qualificative pronouns as possessive stems:

Relative qualificative pronouns are relative qualificatives without accompanying substantive. They are either of direct or indirect relationship to the substantive which they indicate and which, if they were mere qualificatives, they would qualify.

e.g. munhu wakanaka (a person who is good)
wakanaka (a good one)

munhu wandinoda (a person whom I love)
wandinoda (one whom I love)

Examples of possessive qualificatives formed with relative qualificative pronominal stems.

The stems.

The possessives formed from them.

vanopindamo (eg. vanhu)
(those who enter in
(eg. people))

tsoka dzavanopindamo (the foot-prints
of those who enter in)

wakanaka (eg. vanhu)
(good ones (e.g.
people)) (lit. those
who are good)

tsika dzawakanaka (customs of good
ones)

pandinogara (e.g. panhu)
(what I stay at
(eg. place))

kunaka kwapandinogara (the pleasant-
ness of where I stay)

wandinoda (eg. munhu)
(whom I love (eg.
person))

zipo zowandinoda (the gifts of him
whom I love)

357.

4) Adverbs as possessive stems.

The adverbial function of describing a predicate, a qualificative or another adverbial is discharged in most cases by words which, morphologically, are nouns or pronouns. There are very few primitive adverbs, this lack being supplied by the adverbial function of the substantive and by the numerous adverbial formatives which form adverbials with the aid of stems of various kinds.

Adverbials which are morphologically nouns or pronouns, when used as possessive stems, revert to their nominal or pronominal function. This includes the whole class of locatives and most adverbials of time and manner.

e.g. nyika dzokure (far-off countries)
cokudya cezuro (yesterday's food)
nhau dzanhasi (today's news)
vakadzi vapano (the women (of) here)
imbga yecinyararire (a dog, of a stealthy manner)

Of adverbials formed by means of formatives, those
formed with ka- seem to function as possessive stems.

e.g. imbga yakatatu (the dog of the three times)
imbga yakare (the dog of old)

imbga yekecitatu (the dog of the third time)

f) The relative qualificative.

358.

Definition: The relative qualificative is a word or phrase consisting of, or containing, a form, now qualificative, but derived morphologically from a predicate, which, in cases of relative qualificatives of direct relation, expresses as a property possessed by a substantive an action or state of which the said substantive is the subject, and which, in cases of relative qualificatives of indirect relation, expresses as a property possessed by a substantive an action or state of which the substantive is not the subject, but which is referred to it according to the various types of indirect relation. In both cases, the relative qualificative is concordially related to the substantive it qualifies by the relative concords of direct and indirect relation respectively.

359.

The types of relationship - direct and indirect.

The general qualificative relationship borne by all relative qualificatives to their antecedent is differentiated according to the special types of relationship obtaining between antecedent-qualificate and relative qualificative.

Where the antecedent is the subject of the predicate¹ upon which the relative qualificative is built, the relation between antecedent and relative predicate is said to be direct, and the relative qualificative, one of direct relation.

e.g. Mukadzi anoroya vana..(The woman who bewitches children..)

Where the antecedent is not the subject of the relative predicate, the relation between antecedent and relative predicate is said to be indirect, and the relative qualificative, one of indirect relation.

e.g. Mukadzi wandarova..(The woman whom I beat..)

In Shona, as appears from these examples, these two types of relationship between the antecedent-qualificate and the relative qualificative are distinguished morphologically. In the first case the relative qualificative is

1. This will, in future, be referred to as the relative predicate.

concordially related to the antecedent by the relative concord of direct relation. In the second, the relative qualificative is concordially related to the antecedent by the relative concord of indirect relation.

It should be noted that Shona frequently uses a relative construction which is, in form, of direct relation, to render a relative qualificative which is, in reality, in indirect relation to the antecedent.

e.g. Tiri kutenda nokufa kuri kuita makudo (We are grateful by reason of the death which is doing the baboons, viz. which the baboons are doing).

360.

The relative predicate.

The relative predicate is always in the relative mood. This is the morphological aspect of the change from a purely predicative to a qualificative function.

The relative predicate may be derived from a verb or from a personal copulative. When verbal it may be derived from the indicative or potential moods; it may be positive or negative in conjugation; past, present or future in tense; incidental or habitual in mode; simple, progressive or exclusive in implication; indefinite, continuous or perfect in aspect; and it may instance various types of compound predicate, including the tense combination¹. When copulative it may be positive or negative, simple or progressive. The impersonal copulative does not appear to be used in the relative qualificative.

In the positive conjugation, the relative qualificative of direct relation is identical in phonetic form with the corresponding forms of the indicative and potential moods, but differs tonally from them.² The indirect relative is identical in form with the corresponding forms of the participial mood.³

e.g. Mukomana wanga adya sadza..(The boy who had eaten the porridge..)

cp. Mukomana wanga adya sadza (The boy had eaten the porridge)

Murume aca tonga nyika..(The man who will rule the land.)

1. For the meaning of the terms used to describe the predicative in this section, cf. Chapter VIII on the conjugation.
2. For the essential tonal difference between the relative and the corresponding indicative and potential forms, cf. the following sections on the relative concord.
3. But note that the present simple indefinite form, e.g. ndiciziva (I knowing) is not used in the relative.

cp. Murume ācatonga nyika (the man will rule the land).

e.g. Mjana āri kucema..(The child who is crying..)

cp. Mjana āri kucema (The child is crying).

Indirect relation

e.g. Sadza raadya.. (The porridge which he ate..)

cp. adya (he having eaten)

e.g. Mukadzi waakauya naye..(The woman with whom he came..)

cp. akauya (he having come)

In the negative conjugation, the relative qualificative of direct relation is identical in phonetic form with the corresponding forms of the participial mood but differs tonally from them.¹ The indirect relative is identical in form with the corresponding forms of the participial mood.

Direct relation.

e.g. Mjana āsiri kucema..(The child who is not crying..)

cp. Mjana āsiri kucema (A child not crying)

Indirect relation.

e.g. Mukadzi wandisingazive..(A woman whom I do not know.)

cp. ndisingazive (I not knowing)

361.

The relative concord.

The relative qualificative, as in the case of the other qualificatives, may be considered as formed of concord and stem. In relative qualificatives of direct relation, as well as in those cases of indirect relation where the direct form is used, the relative concord consists of the subject concord of the relative predicate. It differs from its corresponding predicative forms in having uniformly low tone; in other respects it is the same as the indicative or potential subject concords in the positive, the same as the participial subject concords in the negative.

The relative stem consists of the remainder of the predicate together with the extension of the predicate, if any.

e.g. Ze. Ini ndiri munhu anoda kafunda ciRungu zakanaka
(I am a person who wants to learn English well)

Ka. Ini ndiri munhu unoda kafunda ciRumbi zakanaka
(I am a person who wants to learn English well)

1. For the essential tonal difference between the relative and participial forms, cf. the following section on the relative concord.

Relative concord: Ze. a-
Ka. u-

Relative stem: Ze. -noda kufunda ciRungu zakanaka
Ka. -noda kudzidza ciRumbi zakanaka.

cp. Munhu anoda kufunda ciRungu zakanaka (The person
wants to learn English well)

Ka. Munhu unoda kudzidza ciRumbi zakanaka (do.)

e.g. Ze. Baba asingacenge vana vake..(A father who
does not keep his children..)

Ka. Bambo asingacenge vana vakwe..(A father who
does not keep his children..)

Relative concord: Ze. a-
Ka. a-

Relative stem: Ze. -singacenge vana vake.
Ka. -singacenge vana vakwe

cp. Ze. Kana asingacenge vana vake..(If he does not
keep his children..)

Ka. Kana asingacenge vana vakwe..(If he does
not keep his children..)

362.

The relative concord of indirect relation .

Relative concords of indirect relation are, in general, in
Ze. and most forms of Ka., the same in form as the possessive
concords with which they have, in these dialect groups, been
identified.¹

-
1. Thus the form of the relative concord of indirect relation
for class 1 is wa-
e.g. Mukadzi wandisingazise..(A woman whom I do not know..)
But note that in Ze. the form a- for this concord is also
found.
e.g. Mukadzi andaona nhasi..(A woman whom I saw today..)

Note further that when the relative predicate in relative
qualificatives of indirect relation is derived from the
present exclusive, the vowel of the relative concord
changes from a to o.

e.g. Umu ndimo mumba moworinda (Herein is the house where
you now sleep)

These forms of the relative concord are, possibly, indications
that the relative concord of indirect relation, like the
relative concord of direct relation, is a verbal, and not
a possessive, concord. Cp. with the normal form of the
possessive concord, the past subject concord for the 3rd.
person. The two are similar in form save in the forms for
class 1, where the possessive concord is wa- alone, whereas
in Ze. the past subject concord may be wa- or a-.

Cp. also the form of the relative concord used before
a relative predicate derived from a present exclusive
with the present exclusive subject concord, 3rd. person.

The relative concord used in the case of a relative predicate derived from a present exclusive is similar in all classes to the present exclusive subject concord.

It should be noted, however, as an argument against the theory that the relative concords of indirect relation are verbal concords, that there are no forms for the 1st. and 2nd. persons. Thus one may not say: Ndini ndaasingade (It is I whom he does not like) or Ndini ndowosada (It is I whom he now does not like). One must use the 3rd. person concords to refer to 1st. and 2nd. person antecedents. Thus: Ndini waasingade (It is I whom he does not like) and Ndini woosada (It is I whom he now does not like).

In Ma., and in some forms of Ka., the relative concord of indirect relation is the same in form as the demonstrative qualificative, 2nd. position.

e.g. Ze. Ka. Nyama yatadya nhasi (The meat we ate today).

Ma. with some Ka. Nyama iyo tadya nhasi (The meat we ate today).

363.

Details and examples of the constructions.

1) Cases of direct relation between antecedent-qualificate and relative qualificative.

In cases of direct relation, as already stated, the relative qualificative is concordially related to the antecedent, the subject of the relative predicate, by a subject concord agreeing with it in person, number and class, and uniformly low in tone. This concord, being the subject concord of the relative predicate, varies in form according to the tense, aspect or implication of the relative predicate.

e.g. Murume wakatenga mbudzi..(The man who bought a goat..)

Murume anotenga mbudzi..(The man who buys goats..)

Mgana waneta anocema (The child who is tired cries).

A predicate is often made more explicit by being turned into a relative predicate. This qualifies its subject, expressed as an absolute pronoun and as the stem of an impersonal copulative.

e.g. Ndini ndakanganisa (It is I who have failed)

cp. Ndakanganisa (I have failed).

Mumba umo ndimo moseberekwa wana (In that house it is that there are now born children).

1. Cp. O'Neil, p.63-68. Marconnès, par. 228-231, Louw, p.85-89

cp. Mumba umo moseberekwa wana (In that house are now born children).

e.g. Nzira yakati tasa, ndiyo yakanaka (The path that is straight, that is one which is good)

cp. Nzira yakati tasa yakanaka (The path that is straight is good)

Wabaya ndiye anovuya (The one who killed, it is he who skins).

cp. Wabaya anovuya (The one who killed, skins).

364.

In cases where the relative predicate would have, in a construction of indirect relation, a substantival subject, the predicate is frequently changed into a passive and the relative construction into one of direct relation, the substantival subject forming the stem of an agentive adverbial.¹

e.g. Izi zarewa natezara (These things which were said by the father-in-law; viz. These things which the father-in-law said).

Uanoisa nyanga dzawo panzira panofambga nomusemi wavo (They place their horns on the path which is walked by their enemy; viz. the path where their enemy walks)

Hukwe dzinorindwa nawana (The sleeping-mats which are slept (on) by the children).

Ma. Mukomana akanerwa ndibafa (The boy who was beaten by father; viz. whom father beat).

-
1. Cp. the renderings by Dr. Louw of John 18/11 and 21/7 in Testamente itsa, B. + F. Bible Society, 1941.
John 18/11: Mukombe wandakapiwa naBaba, handingaunwi here? (The chalice which my Father has given me, shall I not drink it? Lit. The cup which I have been given by the Father...)
John 21/7: Zino mudzidzi uya waidikanwa naJesu..(Whereupon the disciple whom Jesus loved...Lit. Now that disciple who was loved by Jesus...)

Alternative Shona forms, using relatives of indirect relation with substantival subjects, would be :
Mukombe wawakandipa Baba (The cup which the Father has given me)
Zino mudzidzi uya waaidisa Jesu (Whereupon the disciple whom Jesus loved).

An alternative method of avoiding an indirect relative qualificative with substantival subject is similarly to render the relative by a direct construction, the subject concord of the relative predicate agreeing with the antecedent which, however, in reality, stands to the relative predicate in a relation of object or descriptive, and no change being made to the substantival subject of the relative predicate itself.

eg. Izi zareva 6a6a..(These things which father said..Lit. These things which said father..)

Uanoisa nyanga dzawo panzira panofamba musemi wawo(They place their horns on the path where their enemy walks. Lit..where walks their enemy).

Hukwe dzinorinda vana..(The sleeping-mats on which the children sleep..Lit. The sleeping-mats which sleep (on) the children..)

Forms employing the indirect relative form with substantival subject would be:

Izi zaareva 6a6a..(These things which father said..)

...panzira paanofamba musemi wawo (...on the path where their enemy walks)

Hukwe dzavanorinda vana..(The sleeping-mats (on) which the children sleep..)

Further examples of direct relatives which render qualificatives of indirect relation.

e.g. Mjanangu, nhasi unorinda kumusuo kunofura mhepo (My child, today you sleep at the door where blows the wind. viz. where the wind blows).

Panedzimba dzakanaka kwazo dzezikoro nedzimba dzinogara vakomana navesikana (Here are very nice school buildings and houses where stay the boys and girls. viz. where the boys and girls stay).

cp. Asi zakandishamisa kwazo kuti nzimbo yakadayi ishaye imba yokudyira vanhu vatema (But it surprised me very much that such a place should lack a house for eating in the black people. viz. for the black people to eat in).

Isu tose vomutunhu uno ugere vaShawasha..(All we of this district where live the Shawasha..viz. where the Shawasha live..)

366.

The personal copulative with conjunctive adverbial stem provides the basis for a relative qualificative.

- e.g. Vanhu vanenhuna..(People who have grievances..)
cp. Vanenhuna (They have grievances..Lit. They with grievances).

- Munhu asinamukadzi..(A person who has not a wife..)
cp. Wanga asinamukadzi (He was without a wife).

367.

This construction, which, of course, only occurs in cases of direct relation, is much used as an alternative to the constructions treated in parr. 376-379 where the antecedent is a possessor of a possessee linked to the relative predicate.

- e.g. Ndinoziwa murume anembga yafa (I know a man whose dog is dead; lit. who has a dog which is dead.)

The possessee of which the antecedent is possessor may stand in various relationships to the relative predicate. It may be subject or object of the relative predicate, it may be itself a possessor of something in the relative clause or it may be in adverbial relation to the relative predicate.

- i) The possessee th⁵ subject of the relative clause.

- e.g. Murume anepfuti yatyoka (A man whose gun is broken)

- ii) The possessee object of the relative predicate.

- e.g. Murume anembga yandarowa (A man whose dog I beat)

- iii) The possessee possessor of something in the relative clause.

- e.g. (Murume anembga pfupa rayo rakafushirwa nevu
(Murume anembga inepfupa rakafushirwa nevu (A man whose dog's bone was covered with soil)

- iv) The possessee in adverbial relation to the relative predicate.

- a) locative relationship.

- e.g. Murume anemba pandakazorora)
yandakazorora) (A man by whose house I rested)

- b) instrumental relationship.

- e.g. Murume anenjere dzandakapona nadzo (A man through whose cleverness I was saved)

e) conjunctive relationship.

e.g. Murume anembga yaakauya nayo musikana (The man with whose dog the girl came).

368.

2) Cases of indirect relation between the antecedent-qualificate and the relative qualificative.

In cases of indirect relation, the antecedent-qualificate is not the subject of the relative predicate, but, instead, stands to it in one of the following relationships.

The antecedent may be: 1) object of the relative predicate;

ii) possessor of a possessee linked to the relative predicate;

iii) in adverbial relation to the relative predicate.

This adverbial relationship may be: a) locative;

b) instrumental

c) conjunctive¹.

369.

The indirect relative construction in general.

The substantival subject (if any) of the relative predicate is placed after the relative predicate with its adjuncts.

e.g. demo ravakatema muti naro baba vake (The axe with which his father cut the tree).

Ishe wavakauraya namapfumo vanhu vake wakanga ari Sadza (The chief whom his people killed with spears was Sadza).

Hari yaakaumba mukadzi yakashura mare kunaka (The pot which the woman made was very beautiful; lit. was fortunately beautiful).

Mombe dzaakatenga nezuro baba wangu (The cattle which my father bought yesterday).

This construction seems to be avoided in Shona as much as possible. The alternatives which are adopted are those examined in parr. 364-5, viz. direct relatives using the passive verb stem (in which case the substantival subject becomes the stem of a conjunctive adverbial; e.g. Mombe dzakatengwa na baba wangu nezuro (The oxen which were bought by my father yesterday) or the alternative direct form which,

1. Cases which would involve an antecedent to an indirect relative clause in a relation of agency, comparison or manner to the relative predicate, seem to be rendered by direct relatives in Shona. The following examples

(Footnote from the previous page continued)

were put to a reliable informant only to be rendered by relatives of direct relation:

- i) Antecedent in agentive relation to the relative predicate.
e.g. These are the people by whom the travellers were helped:
Ava ndizo vanhu vake6atsira vafambi (These are the people who helped the travellers).
- ii) Antecedent in the relation of comparison to the relative predicate.
e.g. This is the corn than which mine has grown bigger:
Izi ndizo zio zakakura panezangu (This is the corn which has grown more than mine)
- iii) Antecedent in the relation of manner to the relative predicate.
e.g. This is the man like whom you walk:
Uyu ndiye munhu anofamba sewe (This is the man who walks like you).

to avoid a break in the normal word-order which the substantival subject of the indirect relative clause involves, goes against the sense and gives the relative clause of indirect relation a direct form without the substantival subject suffering any change.

e.g. Mombe dzakatenga 6a6a wangu (The oxen which my father bought; lit. The oxen which bought my father)

370.

1

In Ma., and in Ka. as an alternative form, the relative concord of indirect relation is the same in form as a demonstrative qualificative, 2nd. position. This is placed between the antecedent and the relative clause, the substantival subject of the relative clause retaining its place in front of the relative predicate. Further, in Ka., an object concord agreeing with the antecedent is found in the relative predicate, when the relative concord is of this kind.

e.g. Ka. Muti uyo vanhu vakautema wakanga wakare6a kwazo (The tree which the people cut down was very tall).

Ma. Mombe idzo 6a6a wangu akatenga (The oxen which my father bought).

1. Cf. Louw, page 86 (3) (a).

O'Neil, p.64. O'Neil's examples on p.64 in which the relative concord of indirect relation is joined to the substantival subject of an indirect relative clause are certainly wrong. Cf. also Louw's Ka. alternatives on p.67 of O'Neil where the substantival subject of the indirect relative clause precedes the relative concord.

e.g. dondo muvimi maakafura mbizi (The forest in which the hunter shot the zebra)

The positive relative predicate of indirect relation is the same in form as the positive participial. Thus the subject concord for class 1 in all dialect groups is a-, both for the present and future, (cp. the indicative and potential present and future forms: Ka. and Ma. u-, Ze. a-) and for the past (cp. the indicative past forms: Ka. and Ma. wa-, Ze. wa-/a-). These differences are crucial since the positive participial is otherwise the same phonetically as the positive indicative with the exception of the present indefinite participial, e.g. ndicitora (I taking) which is not used in the relative mood.

e.g. Ka. Ugoro yaanofamba nayo (The waggon with which he travels)
 cp. Unofamba nayo (He travels with it).

Ma. Unotora izo anokwanisa kutora (He takes what he can take)
 cp. Unokwanisa kutora (He can take)

Ka. Imba yaakavaka yawa (The house which he built has fallen).
 cp. Wakavaka imba (He built a house)

Ma. Wakandiudza izo akada (He told me what he wanted)
 cp. Wakada (He wanted).

These differences between indicative and participial concords are not so evident in Ze.

e.g. Ze. Ugoro yaanofamba nayo (The waggon with which he travels).
 cp. Anofamba nayo (He travels with it)

Imba yaakavaka (The house which he built)
 cp. Wakavaka imba)
Akavaka imba) (He built a house)

372.

When the relative predicate is formed from a present exclusive, the vowel of the relative concord of indirect relation changes from a to o.

e.g. Ipapo pavanenge uasaugana, ndipo pavorangana kwokunda (At the very same place where they meet, it is there that they now plan where to go).

Cimbomira uone zinhu zotoda kuita mazupa ano; haku-
cadyiwa rinopisa (Just wait and see the things
which we now mean to do these days; there will no
longer be eaten warm porridge).

Misoro yovomboenda nayo kundoita sasa rago (The heads
with they now proceed to go with to go and do their
work).

373.

The relative concord of indirect relation is never
omitted in the form in which it is found in Ze. and most Ka.
dialects. In Ma. however, and in the Ka. dialects which
agree with Ma. in this, the concord is often omitted.

e.g. Ma. Iyi ndiyo imba Sadza akavaka (This is the house
which Sadza built).

Uaripi vana wakataura ndivo ? (Where are the
children you spoke of ?)

Tingadavira here zese tinoverenga mumanyuzipepa ?
(Must we believe all we read in the news-
papers ?)

Munda uyu wakanaka kupinda yese ndakamboona (This
field is better than any I have seen). 1

374.

An object concord agreeing with the antecedent is not
used in Ze. but appears to be frequent in Ka. though even
there it is not essential.

e.g. Ka. Mukadzi uyo murume wakwe wakamupa munda, uri
pano (The woman to whom her husband gave the
garden is here)

Uupfu ubgo bgaakavuya nabgo zuro, ndibgo bgandi-
nouureva (The meal which he brought yesterday
is that which I speak of).

cp. Uupfu bgaakavuya nabgo zuro, ndo bgandinoreva
(The meal which he brought yesterday is that
which I speak of).

Imba yakavaka yawa (The house which he has built
has fallen) .2.

-
1. F. Mayr, Easy English for Natives in Rhodesia. Mariannhill,
pp. 61, 63, 75, 78. respectively.
 2. Louw, pp. 86, 88, 86 respectively.

375.

1) The antecedent as object of the relative predicate.

e.g. Mukadzi wandakaona (The woman whom I saw)

Mukadzi wandisina kuona (The woman whom I did not see)

Zino baba anobvunza samutume kuti: "Ndiani waunoda kuti akupakurire?" (Then the father asks the go-between saying: "Who is it that you wish to dish out to you?").

Hauna nebasa rose rauri kundiitira muno mumba mangu (You have not the least work which you are doing for me in my house; viz. You are not the least use in my house).

Ma. Vanhu awo ndakaona (The people whom I saw)

Nhumi iyo tisakatuma (A messenger we did not send)

1.

376.

11) The antecedent a possessor of a possessee linked

2

to the relative predicate.

The relative construction in this case varies according to the relation of the possessee to the relative predicate.

a) The possessee subject of the relative predicate.

In this case the antecedent possessor is not linked to the relative qualificative by any concord. Indeed, the antecedent, while being qualified by the relative clause, appears to form one compound noun with it. The possessee, subject of the relative predicate, is qualified by a possessive of which the pronominal possessive stem agrees with the antecedent possessor and qualificative.

e.g. Ishe vakadzi vake vakatiza anoshusha kwazo (The chief whose wives ran away is very troublesome; viz. the chief-his wives ran away..)

Ka. Musikana mai vakwe vakafa uri pano (The girl whose mother died is here; viz. the girl-her mother died...)

Ka. Uadzimai vana vavo vasingavuyi kucikoro (The women whose children do not come to school; viz. the women-their children do not come...)

Ishe iwe vakadzi uako vasingabike haugone kuwacenga (You chief whose wives do not cook, you cannot keep them; viz. you chief-your wives do not cook....)3

1. Buck, p. xvi.

2. For alternative constructions in which the possessee becomes the stem of a personal copulative relative qualifying the antecedent possessor, cf. par. 367.

3. The subject concords of the predicates in these relatives are low in tone as in the direct relative.

377.

b) The possessee object of the relative predicate.

In these cases the relative clause is concordially linked to the antecedent possessor by the relative concord of indirect relation. The relative clause contains a possessive with pronominal possessive stem agreeing concordially with the antecedent possessor.

e.g. Ishe wawakauraya wakadzi wake vaRozi (The chief whose wives the Rozi killed).

Ka.Murume uyo mukadzi wakwe waakarapa wakainda (The man whose wife he doctored has left).¹

378.

The possessee possessor of something in the relative clause.

In these cases the possessee is made the stem of a conjunctive adverbial which becomes the stem of a personal copulative relative qualifying directly the possessor antecedent.

e.g. Ishe anavakazi vaneminda yakapfukudzirwa kudyiwa (The chief whose wives' fields were destroyed (by) being eaten; viz. The chief who has wives who have fields which were destroyed..)

An alternative method of rendering these cases is to make the possessee the stem of a possessive qualifying the possessor antecedent.

e.g. Ishe wawakadzi vaneminda...(The chief whose wives' fields..viz. The chief of the wives who have fields...) 2

-
1. Louw, p.87. Note the position of the object of the relative predicate before the relative concord.
 2. Louw, p.88 notes that relatives may often be rendered by possessives made up of possessive concord agreeing with the antecedent + an infinitive with complement (if any).
e.g. Munhu wokubeza huni (A man who works in wood).
Ruvoko rwokusabata (A hand that does not work).

d) The possessee in adverbial relation to the relative predicate.

.1/ Locative relation.

In these cases the possessee is made the stem of an adverbial having a locative prefix attached to it. The possessee, or the locative which is formed with it as stem, is further qualified by a possessive with pronominal possessive stem¹ agreeing concordially with the possessor antecedent.

e.g. dare ravanogara varume pazigaro zaro rakarowa
nemheni (The council place on whose seats the
men sit was struck by lightning).

Muti wavanogara vakadzi mumumvuri wawo (The tree in
whose shade the women sit).

Iri ndiro gura randakapfurira mhembge padyo naro)
paro) (This
is the field near which (lit. in whose vicinity)
I shot the duiker).

Iyi ndiyo imba yaunobvira moto pakati pawo (This is
the house in the middle of which the fire burns).

Ndroupi muti wawakamuona pazasi pawo ? (Which is the
tree under which you saw him ?)

Ma. Akakurira dzese ndudzi idzo akange akavaka pedyo
nadzo (He conquered all the tribes in whose
vicinity he had built).

.2/ Conjunctive relation.

In these cases the possessee is the stem of a conjunctive adverbial. It is qualified by a possessive with pronominal possessive stem agreeing concordially with the antecedent possessor.

e.g. Mukadzi wandauya nehari yake wanditenda (The woman
with whose pot I came thanked me).

.3/ Other types of adverbial relationship are rendered by means of the personal copulative relative construction described above^{under} (c), par. 367.

-
1. When the possessee consists of the nouns padyo or kure then, in their adverbial capacity, they are usually described by a conjunctive adverbial with pronominal stem agreeing concordially with the possessor antecedent.

111) The antecedent in adverbial relationship to the relative predicate.

This adverbial relationship may be: a) locative;

b) instrumental;

c) conjunctive.

a) The antecedent in locative relation to the relative predicate.

The antecedent in locative relationship may describe the relative predicate in terms of place or time. Antecedents indicating place or time may be either locative class substantives or non-locative class substantives. In the former case the relative concord of indirect relation is of the class to which the antecedent belongs. In the latter case, the concord may be either that of a locative class or may agree in class with the antecedent. When the antecedent is functioning as an adverbial of time, it is usual for the concord to agree concordially with it.

.1 Locative class antecedents.

e.g. Ikoko kwaari kuenda ishe (There where the chief is going).

Kure kure kwabanogara waRungu (Far off where the Europeans live).

Pakati paunomera muti (At the middle where the tree grows).

Mudziwa mainogara mvura (In the pool where the water lies).

Ma. Kuti ngoma yaparara, waidzokera kugomo uko mai wake aligara (When the dance dispersed, she would return to the hill where her mother lived).

Panguwa dzese apo unenge waita zakaipa (At all times when you have done badly).

.2 Non-locative class antecedents.

When the relative concord is of a locative class, it will be of class 16, 17 or 18 respectively according as the underlying ideas are those of position, of direction or vicinity, or of position with an area or sphere.

Musha waaigara waive wa\$ose (The village at which he used to live was \$ose's).

Musha paaigara paive pa\$ose (The village at which he used to live was at \$ose's).

Munda watiri kuenda ndoweci\$awe (The field to which we are going is of maize).

Munda kwatiri kuenda ndokweci\$awe (The field to which we are going is of maize).

Ndiro dondo raaipfurira mhuka muvimi (It is the wood where the hunter used to shoot the animals)

Ndiro dondo maapfurira mhuka muvimi (It is the wood wherein the hunter used to shoot the animals).

Ndiyo imba yaakaponera mjana wake mukadzi (It is the house where the woman gave birth to her child).

Ndiyo imba maakaponera mjana wake mukadzi (It is the house wherein the woman gave birth to her child).

Gore rino ratiri (This year in which we are).

Mazuva aye ataifamba rwendo rwedu (Those days when we used to travel).

Cigaro ico-cino candakagara (This very chair here on which I sat).

Imba iyoyo yavai\$e yakat\$e (That same house in which they were was burnt).

Dguva dzandinenge ndicitaura vanhu vanoti zi (At the times when I am speaking, the people keep silent).

Musi wandaka\$ika (The day on which I arrived)

Nezuro waaka\$ika)

Nezuro paaka\$ika) (Yesterday when I arrived)

Nhasi wayana mvura (Today when it rained)

Gore rawakaponwa (The year you were born)

Nhasi wandisingaswere kumba (Today which I am not spending at home)

381.

b) The antecedent in instrumental or conjunctive relation to the relative predicate.

In these cases, the relative clause is introduced by a relative concord of indirect relation agreeing with the antecedent. The clause itself includes, usually at the end, but before the substantival subject, an adverbial indicating the type of relation of antecedent to predicate and consisting of an adverbial formative (na-) of instrumentality or conjunction, with a basic pronominal stem which agrees concordially with the antecedent. In Ma., however, this adverbial

is replaced, in cases of instrumental relationship, by a copulative with basic pronominal stem.

e.g. Instrumental relation.

Kana nhuka yawira mudandira vanoicengerera kwazo rutivi rwayawira narwo; rutivi rwayawira narwo runopiwa kunashe, muridzi wevu (When a pangolin has fallen into a game trench, they observe it very carefully for the side on which it has fallen; the side on which it has fallen is given to the chief, the owner of the soil).

Iri ndiro demo randakazitemesa naro (This is the axe with which I cut myself).

Ogona yataitaura nayo indume (The crocodile about which we spoke is a male).

Ma. Ogwena iyo takataura ndiyo (The crocodile about which we spoke)

Uaripi vana awo wakataura ndivo? (Where are the children about which you spoke?)

Rakakwanisa kuḡuda ngeḡuri iro rakambopinda ndiro (It was able to get out by the hole by which it originally entered).

cp. Ma. --taura ngeiyo (talk about it)
-ḡuda ngeiro (get out by means of it)

Conjunctive relation.

Uhwo ndihwo hwahwa hwaḡauya nahwo vakadzi (This is the beer with which the women came).

Iri ndiro ḡanga raasina kuuya naro mukomana (This is the knife which the boy did not bring; lit. did not come with).

382.

Nouns may qualify other substantives in two positions:

1. when joined to another noun, forming with it a compound noun;
2. when in apposition to a substantive.

1. Compound nouns.

Nouns are often joined together in Shona to form compound nouns. In these cases, the first noun is, at the same time, qualified by the second.

e.g. gomo-dara (table mountain) 1
danda-zuwa (sun-beam)
tsuro-makana (hare of the plains)
tsuro-shapa (hare of the sandy soil)
mašiko-siri (special dinner)
munhu-yi ? (person of what sex ?)

2. Apposition.

A noun is in apposition to a substantive when, while qualifying it, it has the same grammatical function in regard to the rest of the sentence as the substantive itself.

e.g. mukomana, muShawasha (a Shawasha boy; lit. a boy, a Shawasha)
musikana, nherera (an orphan girl; lit. a girl, an orphan)
munhu, murume (a male person; lit. a person, a male)
nzou, hono (a bull elephant; lit. an elephant, a male)
nzou, hadzi (a cow elephant; lit. an elephant, a female)
Ini, ngurube (I, a pig)

-
1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 146 whence some of these examples are taken. Marconnès does not distinguish between nouns in combination and nouns in apposition.

CHAPTER VII

THE VERB.

383.

The verb in Shona is a subdivision of the predicative. The predicative may be either verbal or non-verbal. Verbal predicatives, known simply as verbs, always embody a verb stem. Non-verbal predicatives, which are known as copulatives, are formed from stems which are substantives and adverbs.

384.

Definition: A verb is a word which signifies an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive ¹ is. It is either affirmed or denied according to conjugation; the relationship between the substantive and the verb - the former denoted, save in the case of the positive imperative, by a subject concord - is of various kinds according to mood, viz. is actual, possible, desired, ordered, merely conceived or the action or state is presented as a property as possessed by the substantive; the action or state is indicated, according to tense, as having happened, as happening or about to happen, as having existed, as existing or about to exist; and further precisions of mode, implication and aspect are commonly indicated. ² The verb always embodies a specific verb stem.

-
1. This is Doke's definition of the predicative. Cf. Bantu Linguistic Terminology p.173. He defines the verb by means of the same definition, but with the additional note that the verb is brought into concordal agreement with the substantive by the subjectival concord. Cf. op. cit. p.217. Such a definition would, in Shona, also include the personal copulative. It is difficult to distinguish the verb from the copulative by definition save by pointing out, in the case of the verb, the very much more developed conjugation and the fact that it always embodies a verb stem. The copulative may also embody a verb stem in the case of copulatives formed from infinitives, eg. kufamba (it is walking). Here, however, the whole class 15 verbal noun serves as the copulative stem, and it does so under its nominal aspect, being the name of an action or state, of which the mere existence is predicated.
 2. For the significance of the conjugational terms used in this section, cf. the next chapter.

385.

The verb in Shona may be broadly divided into the non-finite and finite forms. The non-finite form is the infinitive. This signifies the name of the action, and, both in form and in function, it is partly nominal and partly verbal.¹ It consists of the noun prefix ku- and the basic stem, either simple or derivative.²

All other forms of the verb are finite, wherein the subject of the action or state is indicated by a subject concord.³

386.

The simplest finite forms of the verb in Shona, with the exception of the positive imperative, are made up of at least two parts:

- 1) a subject concord which varies according to the person, number and class of the subject, and which may alter for various tenses, moods and conjugations;
- 2) a verb stem, which signifies the action or state. This may undergo various inflections by change of terminative in the various aspects, moods and conjugations.

In addition to these two parts, the verb may also embody auxiliary formatives and an object concord.

The treatment of the verb is divided into two parts:

- 1) the treatment of the basic verb stem;
- 2) the conjugation of the verb.

The latter part includes: 1) the basic conjugation;

11) the conjugation of deficient verbs

1. Cf. parr. 192 -195 for the nominal aspect of the infinitive; parr. 576 -574 for the verbal.
2. The basic stem consists of the verbal root + terminative a, which is the terminative found in the vast majority of verbal forms. The verbal root + terminatives a or i is termed a secondary stem. Such basic or secondary stems may be simple or derivative according as they do not or do include a derivative affix.
e.g. -tora is a basic simple stem.
-tore is a secondary simple stem.
-tores is a basic derivative stem.
-torese is a secondary derivative stem.

In the treatment that follows, the verbal derivative suffixes will be considered as consisting of derivative affix + terminative a.

3. With the exception of the positive imperatives. In these cases the subject is indicated by a suffix (in the 2nd.person plural, e.g.. torayi! (take ye!) or by the

(footnote from the previous page continued)

absence of any formative added to the basic stem (in the 2nd. person singular, e.g. tora ! (take !)). It should be noted that the imperative, in addition to having a verbal function, is also an interjective.

The verb stem.

387.

Verb stems are divided into simple stems and derivative stems.

A. Simple stems are composed of a verbal root and a terminative.

B. Derivative stems.

B.I. Derivative stems are formed from verbs.

1) by the addition of a derivative ending consisting of a derivative affix and terminative¹ to the verbal root;

e.g. -toresā (cause to take) cp. -tora (take)

2) by voicing of the initial phnne of the verb stem;

e.g. -gwiza (graze, rub against)

cp. -kwiza (polish, rub)

3) by reduplication of the verb stem.

e.g. -sata-sata (feel all over)

cp. -sata (hold)

II. Derivative stems are formed from ideophones by the addition of a derivative suffix.

e.g. -sarura (tear) cp. -sarū (of tearing)

III. Derivative stems are formed from nominal and adjectival qualificative stems by the addition of derivative suffixes.

e.g. -sham̄aridzana (be mutually friendly)

cp. sham̄ari (friend) (9)

-pfupisa (shorten)

cp. -pfupi (short)

1. Save where otherwise mentioned, verb stems will be quoted in their basic forms as ending in terminative a and derivative suffixes will be understood to include it.

A. Simple stems.

388.

The simple stems consist of a verbal root + terminative. Such stems are commonly disyllabic; but there are also monosyllabic verb stems, and, while polysyllabic verb stems can usually be shown to be derivative, it is possible that some are simple.

e.g. Disyllabic verb stems.

-tora (take)
-penga (be mad)
-bata (hold)
-vima (hunt)
-buda (emerge)
-sika (arrive)

The following stems commence in vowels in Ze. due to the elision of the initial semi-vowel.

viz. -onda (become lean)	cp. Ka. -wonda
-oma (become dry)	-woma
-amba (begin)	-vamba
-umba (mould)	-vumba
-udza (tell)	-vudza

Other vowel-commencing stems are common to all dialect groups.

e.g. -ambuka (ford)	
-enda (go)	but cp. Ka. -inda
-edza (try)	-idza
-ita (do)	
-ipa (become bad)	
-ibva (become ripe)	

Such stems undergo no distinctive inflection in Shona.

Monosyllabic verb stems.

389.

Monosyllabic verb stems never occur as complete words.¹

Verb forms in which they occur show distinctive inflection in certain formations.

viz. -pa (give)	-dya (eat)
-da (love)	-tya (fear)
-rwa (fight)	-twa (pound) or -tswa (pound)
-tša (burn)	-pxa (dry up)
-wa (fall)	-bva (come forth)
-nzwa (hear)	-va (become)
-fa (die)	-nwa (drink)
-nya (excrete)	-na (rain)
	-ša (steal) ²

1. Cp. Doke, Zulu, par. 292.2; Lamba, par. 303.

2. The stems -ma (stand), -zha (come) and -swa (spend time) are found in the Kl. dialect group.

The following monosyllabic stems do not end in -a;

- ti (say, do)
- nge (seem) Ze. and Ka. In Ma. (be)¹
- ri (be)

B. Derivative stems.

390.

I. Derivative stems formed from verbs.

- 1) Derivative stems formed from verbs by addition of derivative suffixes to the verbal root.

Addition of derivative suffixes, or combinations of derivative suffixes, gives rise to the various verbal derivative species. Derivative stems of all types are conjugated in the different conjugations, moods, tenses etc., in exactly the same way as the simple stems. What is effected by the addition of the derivative suffix is a lexicological variation of the meaning of the simple stem. Such variations or modifications of meaning are, in English, effected "by the use of auxiliary verbs, adverbs or prepositions."² Thus the variation of meaning which is effected by the addition of the passive derivative ending -wa to the verbal root is partly effected, in English, by the auxiliary verb 'to be'.

e.g. -sikwa (be made) cp. -sika (make)

391.

The following is a list of the most important derivative species of verb stem found in Shona.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| a) The passive | with suffixes | 1/ -wa |
| | | 2/ -iwa/-ewa |
| b) The neuter | with suffixes | -ika/-eka |
| c) The applied | with suffixes | -ira/-era |
| d) The perfective | with suffixes | -irira/-erera |
| e) The causative | with suffixes | 1/ -ya |
| | | 2/ -isa/-esa |
| f) The intensive | with suffixes | -isa/-esa |
| g) The reciprocal | with suffix | -ana |

1. In Ma. -nga means 'to seem', -nge is the deficient copulative verb meaning 'to be'.
2. Doke, Lamba, par.307.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| h) | The associative | with suffix | -ana |
| i) | The reversive | with suffixes | -ura |
| j) | The repetitive | with suffixes | -anura etc./onora
-urura/-orora |
| k) | The extensive | with suffix | -ika |
| l) | The stative | with suffix | -aura |
| | | with suffix | -ama |
| | | with suffix | -ara |
| m) | The contactive | with suffix | -ata |

a) The passive species.

392.

The passive species is formed by adding the passive ending -wa to the verbal root. In the case of monosyllabic verb stems, the passive ending is -iwa.

Alternative forms of the passive ending in the case of non-monosyllabic verbs are -iwa and -ewa. -iwa is used when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u; -ewa when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o.

The passive species indicates that the action named by the stem is performed on, and not by, the grammatical subject. The real agent is indicated by an adverbial in Ze. and Ka. which may be either agentive or instrumental. In Ma. it is indicated by a copulative if the agent is a noun of class 1a or an absolute pronoun; otherwise by an agentive or instrumental adverbial.¹

e.g. Ndarumpa nego (I was stung by a wasp) cp. Ma. ngego (by a wasp)
Ndarowa na6a6a (I was beaten by father) ndi6a6a (by father)

393.

With monosyllabic verb stems, ending -iwa replaces the terminative -a.

e.g.	-diwa (be loved)	cp.	-da (love)
	-piwa (be given) ²		-pa (give)
	-6iwa (be stolen)		-6a (steal)
	-dyiwa (be eaten)		-dya (eat)

But the two monosyllabic verbs -ri (be) and -nge (seem) without terminative -a do not form passives. The passive of -ti (say, do) is -nzi (be said, done).

1. For examples of these adverbials cf. parr.
2. An alternative form is -puwa (be given)

394.

In the case of disyllabic and polysyllabic verb stems, the normal passive ending is -wa. Addition of this ending to the verbal root causes the following phonological changes:

- Where the final consonant of the verbal root is a bilabial consonant or consonant-combination, the semi-vowel w is replaced by a velar consonant, unvoiced if the final consonant is unvoiced, voiced if the final consonant is voiced. This velar consonant is usually the prevelar fricative x or y, written x or g. After the bilabial nasal consonant, the velar is usually the nasalized semivowel ŵ, written ŋ. In Ze. these velars are sometimes the explosives k, g and ŋ.
- In Ka., when g is the final consonant of the root, it is posivized and followed by the voiced prevelar fricative, pw > bg.

e. g. -tapxa (be captured)	cp. -tapa (capture)
-dibga (be dipped)	-diba (dip)
-tambga (be played)	-tamba (play)
-rumga (be bitten)	-ruma (bite)
Ka. -robga (be beaten)	-rova (beat)

No example of a verb root ending in g was noted.

395.

- Where the final consonant of the verbal root is a velar or glottal, the addition of the passive ending occasions no phonetic change.

e.g. -sikwa (be cooked)	cp. -sika (cook)
-regwa (be left)	-rega (leave)
-sungwa (be bound)	-sunga (bind)
-ogwa (be growled)	-onga (growl)
-pemhwa (be begged)	-pemha (beg)
-tinhwa (be driven)	-tinha (drive)
-kohwa (be reaped)	-koha (reap)

This is also the case with final root consonant d

-sudwa (be gone out)	-suda (go out)
----------------------	----------------

396.

- In the case of other final root consonants, scil. denti-labials, supradentals, alveolars and prepalatals, the addition of -wa to the root causes the evolution of a velar consonant between the final root consonant and the semi-vowel. This is either voiced or unvoiced according as the final consonant is voiced or unvoiced. These consonants are usually the prevelar fricatives in

Ka. and the velar explosives in Ze. especially after alveolars and prepalatals.

After nasals, the intrusive consonant is usually the velar nasal ŋ. This intrusive consonant is not indicated in the orthography.

eg. Denti-labial final root consonant:

-sefwa (be sieved)	cp. -sefa (sieve) Afrik.sif
-rovwa (be omitted)	-rova (omit)
-ibvwa (be ripened)	-ibva (ripen)

Supradental final root consonant:

-batwa (be caught)	-bata (hold)
-gadwa (be mounted)	-gada (mount) Ma.
-tandwa (be chased)	-tanda (chase)
-danwa (be called)	-dana (call)
-raswa (be lost) 1	-rasa (lose)
-vezwa (be carved)	-veza (carve)
-bvunzwa (be asked)	-bvunza (ask)
-setswa (be amused)	-setsa (amuse)
-rodzwa (be be filed)	-rodza (file)

Alveolar final root consonant:

-garwa (be stayed) 2	-gara (stay)
-taşwa (be mounted)	-taşa (mount)
-kwezwa (be pulled)	-kweza (pull)
-nanzwa (be licked)	-nanza (lick)
-redzwa (be lengthened)	-redza (lengthen)

Prepalatal final root consonant:

-manywa (be run)	-manya (run)
-kwashwa (be hunted)	-kwaşa (hunt)
-shuzhwa (be bartered)	-shuzha (barter)
-gocwa (be roasted)	-goca (roast)
-jujwa (be leaked)	-juja (leak)

397.

- Where the final phone of the root is a semi-vowel, viz. y, w or, in Ze. ɥ (β), the suffix -iwa is usually added to y and w, while ɥ is elided and replaced by w of the short passive ending.

eg. -gayiwa (be ground) -gaya (grind)
-rayiwa (be warned) -raya (warn, punish)
-pfuwiwa (be kept-of stock) -pfuwa (keep-of stock)

-rowa (be beaten) Ze. -rova (beat)
-rewa (be said) Ze. -reva (say) 3

1. This is -raxwa in Ka.
2. In South-western Ka. the final x is elided and the velar is plosivized, viz. -gagwa.
3. For a full treatment of these changes, cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, chapter xii.

398.

The endings -iwa (after final root vowels a, i and u) and -ewa (after final root vowels e and o) are alternative to -wa. These cause no phonological change.

e.g. -tapiwa (be captured)	cp. -tapa (capture)
-tiziwa (be fled)	-tiza (flee)
-budiwa (be gone out)	-buda (go out)
-cerewa (be dug)	-cera (dig)
-torewa (be taken)	-tora (take)

These alternative forms are not so common as those with the shorter ending save in south-western Ka.¹ As noted earlier, these endings are the only ones in use with final root phones y and w and with monosyllabic stems.

399.

Examples of the use of the passive species.

Baba wakatapxa namaDziti (Father was captured by the Ndebele)
 Mudziwa madibga nengurube (In the pool it was dipped (or bathed) by the pigs)
 Ngoma yakatambga kwazo (The drum was danced (to) very much)
 Ndaŋatwa nehope (I am caught by sleep- viz. I am sleepy)
 Zakaŋika asi Gere rakakoniwa kudarika rutsito (They arrived but the hyena was worsted- (in leaping the fence)
 Shumba dzakafara kwazo dziciti: "Tavingwa nenyama" (The lions were very glad, saying: "We have been sought out by meat- viz. We have chanced on meat").
 Ndikuudzeyi zarewa naambuwa (Let me tell you what was said by the old woman)
 Munhu anovigwa anoviswa muputi (A person who is buried is removed the loin-string -viz. has the loin-string removed)
 Ndashurwa nemhembge (I have suffered ill luck (in meeting) a duiker).
 Ndagarwa nhaka (I have been inherited).
 Zanzi naamai: "Uya !" (It has been said by mother: "Come viz. Mother said: "Come!")

400.

The passive of intransitive verbs is used impersonally, the subject concord being of class 15.

e.g. Kwaibvwawo nhasi (It was ripened also today- viz. At last it has got ripe).
 Kwaŋudwa panze nhasi (There has been come outside today- viz. /has come out today).
 Kwagarwa nguwa huru (There was sat a long time).
 Kwaendwa nomumge (There was gone by another- viz. another went)

1. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 216 footnote.

Kunorindwa uko (There is slept there- viz. People sleep there).
 Ndaakanga ndaenda kwakafiwa (I had gone where there was died - viz. I had gone to where there had been a death)

401.

The passive is used extensively in Shona and corresponds often to the active voice in English used with an indefinite subject like 'they', 'one' or 'people'.¹

e.g. Wourayiwa (Now you are killed- viz. Now they will kill you).

Unodanwa (You are called- They want you).

Misoro yakaiswa ngundu yeminhenga (The heads were put head-dresses of feathers- They had feather head-dresses on their heads).

402.

The passive is also used to render a relative qualificative clause of indirect relation as one of direct relation.²

e.g. Inzwa zarewa naBaba (Listen to what was said by father-Listen to what father said)

403.

Derivative stems form passives according to the general rules. Of the verbal derivative suffixes, that of the passive is generally placed last.

e.g. Tadokerwa nezwa (We were sank for by the sun- viz We were caught by the sun-set)
 (Applied + passive)

Takafundiswa navaRungu (We were taught by the Europeans
 (Causative + passive)

404.

Note the passive equivalents of the verb -ti and its compounds.

-nzi (be said, done)	cp. -ti (say, do)
-nzarwo (be treated like that)	-daro (say, do that)
-nzayi (be treated like this)	-dayi (say, do this)
-nziyi ? (be treated like what?)	-diyī (say, do what ?)

case.

In each /t/, or its voiced form d/, is replaced by nz. The final vowel of -daro is replaced by the ending -wo, thus forming a double passive.

1. Cf. Marconnès, parr. 351, 469.

2. Cp. par. 364.

b) The neuter species.

405.

The neuter verbal derivative suffix is -ika when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u, and with monosyllabic stems, -eka when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o.

406.

The neuter form in Shona "indicates an intransitive state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition. There is a clear distinction¹ between the passive and the neuter forms in their significance"

e.g. -*ſatika* (get caught)
 -*ſatwa* (be caught) cp. -*ſata* (catch)
 -*oneka* (be visible)
 -*onewa* (be seen) -*ona* (see)

407.

In particular the neuter species contains the following meanings: 1) Actions easily done or pleasant to do; sometimes this idea corresponds to the meaning of the English suffix -ible, -able.

2) Actions that get done or become done. Verbs with this significance are usually inchoative.

3) Intransitive states.

408.

Examples of the neuter species:

1) - <i>fambika</i> (be easy to walk)	cp. - <i>famba</i> (walk)
- <i>rimika</i> (be easy to plough)	- <i>rima</i> (plough)
- <i>ſudika</i> (be easy to leave)	- <i>ſuda</i> (go out)
- <i>tariſika</i> (easy to look at)	- <i>tariſa</i> (look at)
- <i>kwirika</i> (easy to climb)	- <i>kwira</i> (climb)
- <i>bviſika</i> (be easily removed)	- <i>bviſa</i> (remove)
- <i>dudzika</i> (be easily pronounced)	- <i>dudza</i> (pronounce)
- <i>ziſika</i> (be intelligible)	- <i>ziſa</i> (know)
- <i>dyika</i> (be edible)	- <i>dya</i> (eat)
- <i>nwika</i> (be drinkable)	- <i>nwa</i> (drink)
- <i>nzwika</i> (be audible)	- <i>nzwa</i> (hear)
- <i>nyoreka</i> (be easy to write)	- <i>nyora</i> (write)
- <i>oneka</i> (be easy to see)	- <i>ona</i> (see)
- <i>goneka</i> (be feasible)	- <i>gona</i> (be able)
- <i>verengeka</i> (be numbrable)	- <i>verenga</i> (count)

e.g. *Kunamakore nhaſi*, *kunoſambika* (There are clouds today, it is easy to walk).

Ivu nyoro rinorimika (Soft earth is easy to plough)

Imba iyi inoſudika (This house is easy of egress)

Mvura yenyanza inoſhambirika (The water of the ſea is easy to ſwim in)

Zita rake haridudzike (His name is not easily pronounced)

Wiſa dziſingaverengeke dzakaſurukira muminda (Innumerable locuſts came down on the fields)

- 2) -itika (happen, get done) cp. -ita (do)
 -batika (get caught) -bata (catch)
 -rasika (get lost) -rasa (lose)
 -tunggika (get pierced, sewn) -tunga (pierce)
 -pfudzika (get rubbed off) -pfudza (rub off)
 -dzimika (get extinguished) -dzima (extinguish)
 -taurika (get spoken) -taura (speak)
 -garika (settle intrans.) -gara (stay)
 -wandika (become hidden) -wanda (hide)
 -sika (get stolen) -sa (steal)
 -regeka (get omitted) -rega (leave)
 -cengeteka (get kept) -cengeta (keep)

e.g. Cinoitika (It gets done, it happens)

Rimge zuva zakaitika kuti mumwe mukomana wakafirwa
 navaſereki vake (One day it happened that a
 certain boy was bereaved of his parents).

Rukukwe rwakanyatso-tunggika (A well-sewn sleeping-mat)
 Takagarika (We are at peace).

'Wakapunzikira pasi' - zinogoneka kutaurika: 'Waka-
 punzika pasi' - hazigoneke kutaurika ('It got
 smashed on the floor' - (that) is possible to
 get said; 'It got smashed the floor' - (that)
 is not possible to get said).

- 3) -tambudzika (be afflicted) -tambudza (afflict)
 -shambidzika (be civilized) -shambidza (wash)
 -tendeka (Be grateful) -tenda (acknowledge)

409.

The neuter ending is sometimes reduplicated for emphasis.

e.g. Takaſatikika (We are well prepared).

Takagarikika (We are well established)

Kurasikika kwemombe dzangu ndekuku (This is how my
 oxen got lost)

Kuzivikika kwenyaya yake (The easy way his news gets
 known)

This reduplicated ending must not be confused with the
 compound derivative ending made up of extensive and neuter .

- e.g. -sasikika (be toastable) cp. -sasika (toast)
 -tondekeka (be capable of indication) -tondeka (point to)
 -simikika (be transplantable) -simika (transplant)
 -rumikika (be capable of being bled) -rumika (bleed)
 -radzikika (be capable of being set down) -radzika (set down)

Musoro haurumikike (The head cannot be bled)

Haaradzikike (He can't be put down)

410.

Shona has many intransitive verbs ending in -ka and
 derived from ideophones ending in -i. These are liable to
 be confused with the neuter.

e.g. -tinginika (be tightly laced cp. tingini (of being
 at the waist) narrow-waisted)

411.

In certain cases a passive of the neuter is found bearing a meaning similar to that of the ordinary passive and more commonly used.

- e.g. -onekwa (be seen)
-nzwikwa (be understood)
-gonekwa (be possible)
-ziwikwa (be known)
-regekwa (be left)

demo rinogona kuregekwa here kutakurwa ? (Can the
axe be left off being carried ?)

412.

Suffixes which are occasionally found compounded with the neuter are :

- 1) the extensive;
- 2) the causative;

- e.g. -fikisa (cause to get stolen)
-wandikisa (cause to be hidden)

- 3) the associative.

- e.g. -pfudzikana (get all rubbed off)

Rugwaro rwakapfudzikana (The letter got
summed all over).

c) The applied species.

413.

The applied verbal derivative suffix is -ira when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u, and with monosyllabic stems; it is -era when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o.

414.

The applied species indicates that the action is done with reference to a person, object or place.

e. g. -fira (to die for, on account of, at) cp. -fa (die)
-itira (to do for, on account of, at) -ita (do)

1) With reference to a person:

e.g. -ipira (be evil for)	cp. -ipa (be evil)
-mirira (wait for)	-mira (stand)
-siyira (leave for)	-siya (leave)
-dadira (be conceited to)	-dada (be conceited)

Zambokuipira here (Has it already hurt you ?)

Wakandidadira (He cut me)

Iyi nzimbo inondinakira (This place suits me)

415.

As may be seen from the above examples, the applied form of intransitive verbs may become transitive. Further, that of transitive verbs may take two objects, "the one being the object of the original simple form, and the other the object of the applied idea: the latter is the real object of the applied form, and it takes precedence in word-order over the former, while its concord only may precede the verb stem".¹

e.g. Idyayi nyama asi mundicengeterere muto cete (Eat the meat but keep the soup only for me).

Tsuro akati: "Rega ndinokutsagira huci" (The Hare said: "Let me go and look for honey for you".)

Bvutira mpana sangga, anoziceka (Take away the knife from the child, he will cut himself).

Tiridzireyi mbira dzenyu (Play your xylophones for us).

Gadzirira nhandare rutsito kuti mhupo irege kupindamo (Build a fence for the yard so that the wind may not come in).

1. Doke, Lamba, par. 334.

With the reflexive infix -zi-:

e.g. Tiri kuzionera pamhuno sefodya (We are seeing for ourselves on the nose like snuff - viz. We are seeing clearly for ourselves).

Uanhu vanogona kuzivakira dzimba (The people can build houses for themselves).

Ungadayi ucizikurira (You should overcome yourself).¹

416.

2) With reference to an object:

e.g. -garira (sit for, watch)	cp. -gara (sit)
-rindita (lie for, watch)	-rinda (lie)
-fambira (travel for)	-famba (travel)
-farira (be glad concerning)	-fara (be glad)
-dzidzira (learn for)	-dzidza (learn)
-perera (end in)	-pera (end)
-tsetera (stick to)	-tseta (stick)

Garirayi shiri, dzinodya mapfunde (Watch the birds, they will eat the Kaffir corn)

Tafira nhando (We exerted ourselves for nothing; lit. We died for nothing)

Ndanga ndicifambira mhosa yangu (I was travelling upon my business).

Ndingagofarira seyi kurwara kwomunhu ? (How can I be glad over the sickness of a person ?)

Ndinobvunza kunevakadzidza kuti vakadzidzira kunyomba rudzi rwazo here (I ask from the educated whether they were educated to insult their race). Ma.

Eute rinotsetera makomo (The mist sticks to the mountains)

Mbavarira dzebofu risina mutungamiri dzinoperera nhando mukupotsa nzira nokuwira mumakomba (The efforts of a blind man without a leader end in purposelessness in missing the way and in falling into holes).

417.

When the object is the enclitic interrogative noun -yi ? (what ?), a question corresponding to the question containing 'why ?' (= for what ?) in English is asked.

Iwe unoregereyi kugara mumisha ? (What do you stop for to stay in the villages ? - viz. Why don't you stay in the villages ?)

Unomirireyi ? (Why are you waiting ?) or What are you waiting for?

Wakadarireyiko ? (Tell me, why did he do that ?)

cp. -dariro (do that for)

1. O'Neil, p. 154.

418.

This species is also used in indirect relative qualificatives to convey indirect questions. The relative concord of indirect relation in these cases is indefinite - of class 7 or 8.

e.g. Ndizo zatakamirira (That is why we waited)

Ziripo zaakarambira (There is a reason why he refused)

Vanomuudza zavakaurayira (They tell him why they killed it)

Unoziva caakadirira mvura ? (Do you know why he poured the water ?)

419.

3) With reference to a place;

e.g. -namatira (stick to)

-tinhira (drive to)

-tsira (burn at)

-vavira (itch at)

-setukira (jump in)

cp. -namata (stick)

-tinha (drive)

-tsha (burn)

-vava (itch)

-setuka (jump)

-kwevera (pull along)

-ponera (give birth at)

-kweva (pull)

-pona (give birth)

Hamba icikwevera pasi tsapo yenzungu yakasungirwa
pagumbo rayo (Tortoise pulling along the ground
a bag of ground-nuts bound to his leg).

kutinhira mombe kudibu (to drive the oxen to the dip)

Bveni rakatsirapo (The baboon was burnt there).

Panovavira tinokwenya (Where it itches, we scratch)

Wakaponerwepi ? (Where was he born ?)

Mudzinga munoitira nyuci huci (In the wild hive where
make the bees honey- viz. In the wild
hive where the bees make honey)¹

420.

Very often a verb indicating motion will, in its simple form, indicate 'motion from'; in its applied form, it will indicate 'motion to'.

e.g. kudzoka kumusha (to return from home)
kudzokera kumusha (to return home).

1. For the function of this relative form of direct relation in rendering relative qualificatives of indirect relation, cf. par. 365.

kuwa mumuti (to fall from a tree)
kuwira mumuti (to fall into a tree)

kutanda mombe paruware (to chase the oxen from the
threshing floor)
kutandira mombe paruware (to chase the oxen to the
threshing floor)

Matinhwa mombe mumunda menyu (There were driven the
oxen from your field).
Matinhirwa mombe mumunda menyu (There were driven
the oxen into your field).

421.

The connotation of place may be conveyed by the applied species without any locative adverb in qualificative expressions which incorporate it.

e.g. imba yokuḡikira (a house to cook in)

kudya kwavanotengesa nedzimba dzinodyira vanhu (the
food which they eat and the houses which eat
in the people - viz. in which the people eat..)

This idea is also retained in class 5 and 7 deverbatives formed from this species.

e.g. diziro (refuge) (5) cp. -tizira (flee to)
fambiro rake (his habitual(5) -fambira (walk at
haunt)

ciurayiro cemombe (abattoir for cattle)
-urayira (kill at)
ciwezera (carpenter's shop) -wezera (work in
wood at)

422.

The class 3 deverbatives formed from this species would seem to indicate that one of the meaning of the species is manner of action.

e.g. Ndo muitiro wake (It is his way of
acting) cp. -itira (do for etc)
Ndo muitirwo waco (It is its -itirwa (be done for
way of being done) etc.)

cp. -fambirromo (walk not knowing the way)¹ Ka.

423.

Some verbs of applied form have no obvious applied meaning today. In many cases there is no extant simple form from which they can be derived but in some cases a connection can be shown.

e.g. -mira (stand) cp. Kl. -ma (stand)

1. Louw, p. 311

-davira (answer)	
-fanira (be fitting)	cp. -fana (resemble)
-kodzera (be worthy, (be of a size for))	-kodza (fatten)
-swera (spend time)	Kl. -swa (spend time)
-nuhira (smell pleasantly)	-nuha (smell unpleasantly)
-tonhorera (be cool)	-tonhora (be cold)

nomutowo usina kufanira (in an unfitting manner)

Handikodzere (I am not worthy).

Wakawedzera kureva (He spoke again - lit. He added to speak)

Waswera here ? (Have you spent time ? - a greeting for noonday and after).

Kuri kutonhorera nhasi (It is cool today).

Ndakaajira kudya sadza (I am accustomed to eat mealie porridge)

Imbga yakasedera (The dog approached).

Hapana kupiwa nokukumbira; zitsagireyi ! (There is no being given and asking; look for them !)

The applied form of such verbs results in a double suffix which is of similar form to the perfective with which it should not be confused.

e.g. -fanirira (be suitable for)
 -kumbirira (ask on behalf of)
 -davirira (be responsible for)
 -swerera (spend time at)

424.

Occasionally a reduplicated applied suffix has an intensive meaning. This is not the perfective which indicates an action done completely but not with reference to a person or object.

e.g. -sonerera (patch to) cp. -sonera (sew to, for)
 -reverera (act as witness for) -revera (speak for)

425.

The applied suffix is frequently used in conjunction with the passive. The action performed on the grammatical subject may still govern an object where the simple form from which the compound derivate is formed is transitive. This is the object of the simple form itself.

e.g. Ndakabikirwa sadza (I had porridge cooked for me).

kuti tirege kutorerwa hucinda hwedu (so that we may not have our principedom taken from us).

Ndanyorerwa tsamba napasekuru (I was written a letter by grandfather)

Ndadyirwa mupunga nemombe wandakarimirwa nasekuru
 .(I have had eaten by cattle the rice which I had ploughed for me by uncle).

Taſikirwa sadza ratakadaidzirwa (We have had cooked for us the porridge to which we were invited).

kurwarirwa nawamge (to be sickened for by others- viz. to have sick people on one's hands).

Uazhinji vakawirwa nehosha (Many were visited by sickness - lit. Many were fallen on by sickness)

Ndapererwa nenguva (I have run out of time -lit. I have been finished for with time).

kusikirwa neshape (to be possessed by a spirit)

kubudirwa neshape (to be possessed by a spirit)

Other suffixes with which the applied is commonly compounded are the reciprocal and the short causative.

e.g. kubvumirana (to agree mutually) cp. -bvuma (agree)
kubvumidza (to allow)

d) The perfective species.

426.

The perfective verbal derivative suffix is -irira when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u; it is -erera when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o. In the case of monosyllabic stems it is -iririra.

427.

The perfective species indicates an action carried to completion.

e.g. -pindirira (to pass right through)	cp. -pinda (pass)
-budirira (to come out well)	-buda (come out)
-simirira (keep planting)	-sima (plant)
-mɔyirira (keep sowing)	-mɔyaya (sow)
-monerera (wind round and round)	-mona (twist)
-enderera (go on and on)	-enda (go)
-regerera (leave quite alone)	-rega (leave)
-roverera (nail thoroughly)	-rova (beat)
-poterera (go right round)	-pota (go round)
-cekerera (cut up small)	-ceka (cut)
-sekerera (laugh on and on)	-seka (laugh)
-dyiririra (eat a lot)	-dya (eat)
-firirira (expend all one's energies)	-fa (die)
-nzwiririra (feel acutely)	-nzwa (feel)

Ndiri kufiririra neſasa, iwe ugere zako (I am working very hard while you merely sit).

cp. Wotoita runwiririra ? (Are you just having an endless drink ?)

(runwiririra is a deverbative from this species)

e) The causative species.

428.

There are two types of causative ending in Shona. They may be termed, respectively, the short and long forms.

1) The short causative suffix is thought to have been $\hat{y}a$ ¹. In Shona it is no longer apparent as such, neither is the process of forming causatives with it a living one. It may be studied in the resultant consonant combinations and compound consonants to which it has given rise by being joined to certain final consonants of simple verb roots.

2) The long causative ending is -isa when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u, and with monosyllabic stems; it is -essa when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o.

429.

The joining of the ending $\hat{y}a$ to the final root consonants with which it is found results in supradental, alveolar and prepalatal consonant combinations and compound consonants.

The following are the forms which are found:

- final consonant k + $\hat{y}a$ > tsa

e.g. -setsa vanhu (amuse people) cp. -seka (laugh)
-natso vanhu (improve people) -naka (become good)

- final consonant t + $\hat{y}a$ > tsa.

e.g. -rotsa vanhu (make people dream) cp. -rota (dream)

- final consonant r + $\hat{y}a$ > dza.

e.g. -ridza mbira (sound the xylo- cp. -rira (sound)
phone)
-kwidza munhu (lift a person) -kwira (climb)

- final consonant p + $\hat{y}a$ > sa.

e.g. -tesa bango (to thin a pole) cp. -tepa (be thin)
-isa vanhu (corrupt people) -ipa (be bad)

- final consonant s + $\hat{y}a$ > dza.

e.g. -redza (lengthen) cp. -reba (be long)

- final consonant v + $\hat{y}a$ > za.

e.g. -reza muna (pacify a child) cp. -reva (speak)

- final consonant n + $\hat{y}a$ > nya (Ka. only)²

e.g. -paradzanya (separate) cp. -paradzana (be separate)

1. Cf. Meinhof -V. Warmelo, Bantu Phonology, p.44

2. Cf. Louw, p.96. This form is said to apply, not to two, but to several objects.

- final consonant combination nd + $\hat{y}a > nza$.

e.g. -onze vanhu (make people lean) cp. -onda (become lean)
-vanza vanhu (hide people) -vanda (hide)

-final consonant combination mb + $\hat{y}a > nza$.

e.g. -vinza munhu (make a person proud)
cp. -vimba (be proud)

430.

As already stated, this process of causative formation is not a living one. The short ending is found mostly with stems with final consonant r. Thus, e.g.,

-fadza (make glad) cp. -fara (be glad)

the causatives of the stative in -ara,

e.g. -pofumadza (blind) cp. -pofumara (be blind);

and with many applied stems;

e.g. -tambidza (give) cp. -tambira (receive)
-fukidza (cover) -fukira (put on for)

431.

The long causative ending is the same in form as the intensive. Perhaps basic to both causative and intensive species is the idea of contributing to the performance of the action expressed by the simple stem. This may consist:

- 1) in the agent contributing to his own action -(cf. the intensive).
- 2) in his contributing to the action of another. This other¹ may be 1) an agent or ii) an instrument.

-
1. The long ending is probably derived from a compounding of the neuter and the short causative; thus, -ika + $\hat{y}a > -isa$; -eka + $-\hat{y}a > -esa$. The meaning of this compound ending would indicate indirect action by a subject upon another subject, causing him to get into a state (neuter + causative). The meaning of the short causative would be more direct - it would connote action by a subject upon an object.

Shona bears out this distinction in many cases.

(Footnote from the previous page continued)

- e.g. -takudza munhu (to help a person carry -sharing the load)
-takurisa munhu (to make a person carry- giving him the load and leaving it to him)
cp. -takura (carry)
-ridza mbira (to play a xylophone)
-ririsa mpana (to make a child cry)
cp. -rira (sound)

In many other cases, however, the distinction is now blurred.

e.g. -sikisa (to help cook, make cook, cook with)
Note further that the short ending is only used in combination with certain final root consonants and consonant combinations, and that the process of forming the short causative is no longer living. Hence I have not imported this distinction into the semantic divisions I have indicated.

432.

Examples of the causative:

- 1) Causing or helping another to do an action or enter a state.

Ndauya kuzokusikisayi hwahwa (I have come to help you cook beer)
cp. -sika (cook)

Uakamuziwa nhorohondo dzese dzohumhizha hwake (They told him all the traditions of his trade)
cp. -ziva (know)

As with the applied species, "when a causative is made of a transitive verb, it may have two objects, the one the object of the simple form and the other the object of the causative form. The latter is the true object and takes precedence in word order over the former; further the object concord of the true object only may be placed before the stem".¹ The object of the simple form remains, however, when such causatives are compounded with the passive ending.

e.g. Setesa mpana ipxa, ari kuida (Make the child suck the sweet-reed, he is eating it).
cp. -seta (suck)

Uakandiurayisa hama yangu (They made me kill my relative)
cp. -uraya (kill)

Wakafundiswa nzira dzese dzomunyika (He was taught all the paths of the country).
cp. -funda (learn)

Ndakaaurayiswa hama yangu (I was made to kill my relative)
cp. -uraya (kill)

433.

Verbs which are intransitive in the simple form become transitive in the causative.

e.g. -fisa (kill)	cp. -fa (die)
-uyisa (bring)	-uya (come)
-fadza (please)	-fara (be glad)
-dziyisa (warm)	-dziya (be warm)
-omesa (dry)	-oma (be dry)
-enzanisa (equalize)	-enzana (be equal)
-mutsa (rouse)	-muka (rise)
-pfekesa (clothe)	-pfeka (wear)
-unganidza (gather)	-unganira (come together for)
-zorodza (cause to rest)	-zorora (rest)

Uanouyisa mazai kunaŋaŋa (They bring eggs to father)

Asi nyere iyi yakamufadza kwazo (But this flute pleased him much)

Omesa macira (Dry the clothes).

Pfekesa mŋana, anecando (Dress the child, he is cold)

Zorodza vanhu awo, uanozobata ŋasa guru zino uno (Make those people rest, they will have a big job very soon)

434.

2) Causing things to act as instruments. ¹

e.g. Unoceresa ŋadza rangu mbeva (You use my hoe to dig field mice with).	cp. -cera (dig)
Ndinosevesa sadza (I dip (into the relish) with the porridge).	cp. -seva (use as relish)
Ndipewo nhabvu nditambise (Please give me the ball to play with).	cp. -tamba (play)

The causative in a qualificative expression frequently gives the purpose or use of a thing. ²

e.g. Ivu rokunamisa imba (Soil for smearing a house with, with which to smear a house).	cp. -nama (plaster, smear)
gashu rokusungisa mombe (a thong with which to tether an ox).	cp. -sunga (tie)

Shona may use the causative of transitive verbs in a passive sense and with an adverbial indicating an agent or instrument. ³

e.g. Rega kundirumisa nembga yako (Don't have me bitten by your dog).	cp. -ruma (bite)
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1. Marconnès, par. 354 d.
2. O'Neil, p. 153.
3. Marconnès, par. 354 e.

Wakeaurayisa she wedu nomukadzi wako weshumba (You had
our chief killed by your lion of a wife).

cp. -uraya (kill)

Unozondirovesa necikomba oako (You will have me
beaten by your lover).

cp. -rova (beat)

435.

Note the causative forms of the compounds of -ti

and -nzi.

-dariso (to make do that) cp. -daro (do that)

-dayiso (to make do this) -dayi (do this)

-nzariswo (to be made to that) -nzerwo (be treated in
that way)

-nzayiswo (to be made do this) -nzayi (be treated thus)

436.

Deverbative nouns formed from this species indicate
instruments. They are usually in class 7.

e.g. cienzaniso (measure) cp. -enzanisa (equalize)
cifukidzo (covering) -fukidza (cover)

437.

The causative suffix is commonly compounded with the
passive, applied, reciprocal and neuter suffixes.

e.g. -kadyiswa (be fed) cp. -dyisa (feed)

Unodyisira kupi imbga dzako ? (Where do you
feed your dogs ?)

-dyisana (feed each other)

Anodyisika (He is easily fed).

438.

A very common combination of suffixes is that of the applied and the short causative. This^{is}, of course, -idza when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u; it is -edza when the final vowel of the verbal root is e or o.

This combination is frequently used in forming transitive from intransitive parent forms.

e.g. -shambidza (wash (another))	cp. -shamba (wash)
-bvumidza (allow)	-bvuma (agree)
-pamidza (repeat)	-pama (do again)
-nuhwidza (smell)	-nuhwa (emit unpleasant smell)
-tondedza (indicate)	-tonda (face)
-shongedza (decorate)	-shonga (adorn self)
-unganidza (join)	-ungana (come together)
-sanganidza (mix)	-sangana (meet)
-rambidza (forbid)	-ramba (refuse)

f) The intensive species.

439.

The intensive suffix is the same in form as the long form of the causative.

440.

The intensive species indicates a heightened, more perfect or more vigorous variety of the action expressed by the simple stem.

e.g. -taurisa (speak up)	cp. -taura (speak)
-manyisa (run hard)	-manya (run)
-monesa (stir hard)	-mona (stir)
-revesa (speak up)	-reva (speak)

Revesa mazwi, rega kuruma rurimi (Speak out the words,
don't bite (your) tongue).

Bere rakaBandidzirwamo nokuti rakagutisa (The hyena
was confined in there because it was very full)

kururamisa pameso (to be fair of countenance)
cp. -rurama (be straight, regular)
kuzariswa (to be well born)
cp. -zara (beget)

441.

The intensive has a reduplicated form which is superlative in meaning. This is triplicated in the case of monosyllabic simple stems.

cp. -ḡata (Hold)	-ḡatisa (grip)	-ḡatisisa (grip strongly)
-naka (be good)	-nakisa (be very good)	-nakisisa (be very very good)
-bvunza (ask)	-bvunzisa (interro- gate)	-bvunzisisa (shower with questions)
-reḡa (be long)	-reḡesa (be very long)	-reḡesesa (be enor- mously long)
-da (love)	-ḡisa (love much)	-ḡisisisa (love very much)

e.g. Cawawana ḡatisisa, mudzimu haupe kaviri (What you have found, hold strongly; the spirit does not give twice).

Inzwa zakanaka unzwisisise (Listen well so that you may thoroughly understand).

Munogona asi hamusati magonesesa (You are able but not yet thoroughly master)

442.

The intensive ending is commonly compounded with the passive, applied, reciprocal and neuter suffixes.

e.g. -roḡeswa (be beaten hard) cp. -roḡesa (beat hard)
-taurisireyi ?(talk up for what?) -taurisa (talk up)
-roḡesana (beat one another hard)
-taurisika (get spoken up)

g) The reciprocal species.

443.

The reciprocal verbal derivative ending is -ana.

444.

The reciprocal species indicates that the action is performed upon one another by two or more agents.

- e.g. -batana (hold one another, be adjacent) cp. -bata (hold)
-dana (love one another) -da (love)
-rwana (fight one another) -rwa (fight)
-mbundirana (shake hands) -mbundira (grip for)
-dzutedzana (give to one another to drink, pass round the beer) -dzutedza (make sip)
-fambirana (visit one another) -fambira (travel to)

445.

The reciprocal species is commonly used with plural concords, the parties to the reciprocal action being associated as a plural subject.

- e.g. Mombe nakafudza-mombe zino**satsirana** (The head-of-cattle and the tick-bird help one another)
cp. -satsira (help)

Uakomana vakabvunzana rumbo rwokuridza (The boys asked one another a song to play)
cp. -bvunza (ask, question)

Zamutsana mucuru tsuro nembga (The dog and hare started each other up in the anthep).
cp. -mutsa (rouse)

Mhuka mbiri dzose dzisingaonane dzakazokwebana zuva rose kusikira mauro, tsuro icingunosekerera zayo (Both animals, unable to see one another, came to pull against one another the whole day while the hare, for its part, laughed on and on)
cp. -ona (see)
-kweba (pull)

Zinosekana zirema (Fools laugh at one another)
cp. -seka (laugh at)

446.

Where one of the parties to the action is subject of the verb with reciprocal stem, the other subject is expressed as a stem of a conjunctive adverbial.

- e.g. Mumbe musi tsuro icifamba musango yakacingurana nenzou (One day the hare, while walking in the veld) came across an elephant).
cp. -cingura (meet)

Shumba ikava nehasha ikadzingana nayo (The lion then
got angry and chased after it)
cp. -dzinga (chase)

Zai rimpe cete remhou rakaenzana namakumi maviri ehuku
(One ostrich egg is equal to twenty hen's eggs)
cp. -enza

kugumana nedombo (to strike against a stone)
cp. -guma (end, finish)

Ndakafanana naŋaŋa (I am like to father).
cp. -fana (resemble)

447.

Note the forms of this species for the compounds of -ti.

-darano (do that to one another) cp. -daro (do that)

-dayanirano (do this to one another) -dayi (do this)

The ending of the latter verb is compound including a
reciprocal, an applied and another reciprocal ending.

e.g. Ico cavanodayanirano ciyiko ? (What is it that they
do this to one another for ?)

Munodayaniraneyiko ? (Why are you doing this to one
another ?)

448.

The reciprocal suffix is compounded with the passive,
the applied and the causative. In these cases the passive,
the applied, or the causative suffixes come first in the
compound suffix; the reciprocal is then inserted, to be
followed by a repetition of the suffix which precedes it.

e.g. Passive + reciprocal + passive:

akarwirwanwa (he was fought for (by them) one
against the other)

Applied + reciprocal + applied:

munorwiranireyi ? (What are you fighting one
another for ?)

Causative + reciprocal + causative:

Ciyiko cinokurwisanisayi ? (What is making you
fight one another?)
Enzanisa mabande ! (Make the belts equal to one
another !)

h) The associative species.

449.

The associative ending is -ana.

450.

The associative species indicates that two or more subjects are joined together in the action or state indicated by the simple stem.

This species is not extensively used in Central Shona. Some of the examples resemble the stative species in meaning, being used of a single subject with reference to its parts and their relation to one another.

e.g. -rangana (plot together)	cp. -ranga (talk) Ma.
-ungana (assemble together)	-unga (collect)
-nyongana (be confused)	
-pangana (plot together)	-panga zano (form a plan) Ma.
-gonyana (to curl)	-gonya (bend)
-gadzana (settle down together)	-gadza (settle)
-bvundukana (get dirty- eg. of water)	-bvunduka (be turbid)
-zuukana (be elongated)	-zuwa (pull)
-ndandadzana (be all ready-e.g. of a meal)	-ndandadza (prepare)

451.

Many of the examples which instance associatives are found compounded with the passive suffix. In these cases two or more subjects are joined in an action which is performed on the grammatical subject. The following examples include other suffixes as well.

e.g. Neuter + associative + passive:

-dikanwa (be loved generally)	cp. -dika (be lovable)
-zizikanwa (be known generally)	-zizika (be knowable)

Applied + associative + passive:

Uakaŋatiranwa (They were caught)	-ŋatira (catch for, in)
Wakakomberanwa (He was surrounded)	-kombera (Surround for, in)
Rurimi rweḍu runoitiranwa mhandā zhinji ¹	

1. Marconnès, par. 364. My information^{is} did not confirm the other forms which Marconnès gives as examples of associatives.

(Our language has many quarrels made
over it)
cp.-itira (make for)

Causative + associative + passive:

-bvubvudzanwa (be pulled this way
and that) cp. -bvubvudza (grab)

1) The reversive species.

452.

The reversive verbal derivative ending has two forms, respectively short and long. The short form, which is comparatively rare, is -ura. The more common long form is of the following type :

-After final root vowel	<u>a</u>	, it is	<u>-anura</u> ;
...	<u>e</u>	, it is	<u>-enura</u> ;
...	<u>i</u>	, it is	<u>-inura</u> ;
...	<u>o</u>	, it is	<u>-onora</u> ;
...	<u>u</u>	, it is	<u>-unura</u> .

453.

The reversive species indicates that the action indicated by the simple stem is undone. It thus corresponds to the idea conveyed in English by the prefix un- before a verb.

454.

Every transitive reversive may be changed into an intransitive neuter form by substituting -ka for -ra in the reversive ending. By this change a connotation similar to that brought to the simple stem by the suffixing of the neuter ending is brought to the reversive.

e.g. -petura (comb)
-petuka (get combed, be combable) cp.-peta (fold)

-namura (unseal)
-namuka (get unsealed, be unsealable) -nama (smear, plaster)

In the following examples only the transitive reversive forms will be given.

1. The transitive reversive may also take a neuter ending, e.g. -Sunungurika (get unbound), cp. -Sunungura (unbind) I cannot discover any difference in meaning between these and the shorter neuter forms.

455.

Examples of the short reversive ending:

-dziura (uncork)	cp. -dziua (Hinder, stop)
-pindura (turn round)	-pinda (go in)
-zarura (open)	-zarira (close)
-rumura (wean)	-ruma (bite)
-sinura (open eyes)	-sina (squeeze)
-dzimura (extinguish)	-dzimira (burn a patch of grass against a grass- fire)
-nyukura (take from water) ¹	-nyika (steep in water)

456.

Examples of the long reversive ending:

-catanura (divorce)	-cata (marry)
	Ng. -tshata (marry according to Christian rites)
-namanura (unstick)	-nama (plaster)
-katanura (uncoil)	-kata (coil)
-petenura (unfold)	-peta (fold)
-pfekenura (undress)	-pfeka (dress)
-pinginura (open up)	-pinga (close up)
-tsinginura (not to trip up)	-tsinga (trip up)
-kinura (unlock) ²	-kiya (lock)
	Eng. Key
-ziinura (relieve of hunger)	-ziya (faint from hunger)
-mononora (uncoil)	-mona (stir)
-pombonora (unwind)	-pomba (wrap with string)
-rowonora (unwitch)	-rowa (bewitch)
-konopora (unbutton) ²	-kopera (button)
	Afrik. knoop
-sunungura (untie) ³	-sunga (tie)
-rukunura (unplait)	-ruka (plait)
-tutunura (unload)	-tuta (lift, load)
-pfupunura (call back a spirit)	-pfupa (propitiate a spirit)
-pfurunura (pull down roof) ¹	-pfirira (thatch)
-dzukunura (pull up) ¹	-dzika (plant)

457.

Many verbs of reversive form and meaning are derived from ideophones ending in u.

e.g. -suura (take off skin)	cp. suu (of stripping skin, bark etc.)
-suuka (be chafed)	
-radanura (uproot)	radanu (of uprooting)
-radanuka (be uprooted)	

Even in the case of verbs of derivative reversive species there exist corresponding ideophones made up of the simple root + u.

e.g. petu (of combing)	cp. -petura (comb)
namu (of unsealing)	-namura (unseal)
dziuu (of uncorking)	-dziura (uncork)

1. These are cases of retrogressive assimilation. In the case of -pfurunura (pull down roof) and -dzukunura (uproot)

(Footnotes continued from the previous page)

this assimilation has changed both root vowel and the first vowel of the long ending from i to u.

2. In these cases the reversive has been formed directly from the borrowed word, -kinura (unlock) from ki (key) and -konopora from konopo (button). In the latter case, a simple stem has then been formed from the reversive on the assumption that the latter has undergone metathesis, viz. -konopora > -koponora > -koprea.

3. This is a case of metathesis, -sungunura > -sunungura.

458.

The reversive is commonly compounded with the passive, applied, causative and reciprocal species.

e.g. -namurwa (be unsealed)
-namurira (unseal for, at etc.)
-namurisa (Make unseal)
-namurana (unseal each other)

j) The repetitive.

459.

The repetitive verbal derivative suffix is -urura when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, e, i or u; it is orora when the final vowel of the verbal root is o.

460.

The repetitive usually connotes an action done for the second time or over again. Occasionally the meaning is perfective. These endings recall the reversive; indeed the connotation of the repetitive may be psychologically connected with that of the reversive insofar as the previous action, which is repeated, is undone.

461.

All the examples listed below have corresponding neuter forms ending in -ka.

e.g. -famburura (walk a second time)	cp. -famba (walk)
-dyarurura (replant)	-dyara (plant)
-mjarurura (resow)	-mjaya (sow)
-sendurura (plane again)	-senda (plane)
-pindurura (turn again)	-pindura (turn)
-tukurura (curse with repetitions)	-tuka (curse)
-dzongorora (resow)	-dzonga (sow)
-dzokorora (do over again)	-dzoka (return)

The following examples have a perfective meaning - the action in being done again is done well:

e.g. -recurura (confess)	-reva (say)
-tsetsurura (grind properly)	-tsetsa (grind)
-dzimurura (extinguish thoroughly)	-dzima (extinguish)
-ziurura (know thoroughly)	-ziva (know)
-onorora (see well)	-ona (see)
-rondorora (track thoroughly)	-ronda (track)

Note the following reversives akin in meaning to the repetitive:

-umbanura (finish off the base of a pot)	-umba (mould)
-pindinura (cross-plough)	-pinda (enter, pass)

-
1. The semivowel of the verb root is changed to r under the assimilating influence of the *soff* consonants in the ending.

k) The extensive species.

462.

The extensive verbal derivative suffix is -ika when the final vowel of the verbal root is a, i or u. It is -eka when the final vowel of the verbal stem is e or o.

463.

The extensive species indicates an action projected¹ in a certain direction in space.

e.g. -kwidzika (put on top)	cp. -kwidza (lift)
-gadzika (put down)	-gadza (settle)
-radzika (put down)	-radza (lay down)
-ringika (lay down gently)	-rinza (lay down)
-rumika (cup, bleed)	-ruma (bite)
-simika (plant out)	-sima (plant)
-vanzika (lay down)	-vanza (lay down)
-tondeka (point to)	-tonda (face in one direction)
-oneka (see off, bid farewell to)	-ona (see)

464.

Many verbs of similar connotation are ideophonic derivatives.

e.g. -cirika (jump over)	ciri (of jumping over)
-darika (pass over, transgress)	dari (of stepping over)

465.

The extensive ending is found in combination with the passive, neuter, applied, causative and reciprocal suffixes:

e.g. -kwidzikwa (be put on top)
-kwidzikika (be capable of being put on top)
-kwidzira (put on top for)
-kwidzikisa (make put on top)
-kwidzikana (put one another on top)

The extensive in -aura.

466.

Another species of derivative verb with extensive meaning is formed by suffixing the ending -ura to the simple stem.²

467.

This extensive species indicates an action spread over an area or space.

e.g. -tanaura (pick with fingers, eg nuts, fruit etc.)	cp. -tana (pluck)
-bandaura (break up hard ground)	-banda (break up)
-sungaaura (tie all over)	-sunga (tie)
-pazaura (pull down, eg. a building, here and there)	-paza (pull down)
-rigaura (cut down here and there)	-riga (throw down)
-monaura (twist strongly several times)	-mona (twist)

1. Cp. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.105
Lamba, par. 360.

2. Cp. Marconnès, par. 360.

E.W. Smith, Handbook of the Ila Language, Frowde, p.131

-sandaure (turn over and over) op.	-sandure (turn)
-sundaure (keep on pushing)	-sunda (push)
-sikaure (pound flesh)	-sika (cook)
-tukaura (scold roundly)	-tuka (scold)
-zambaura (beat hard)	-zambura (beat hard)
-ceraure (dig from different sides)	-cera (dig)

Corresponding to these transitive forms there are neuter forms with -uka as ending.

1) The stative species.

468.

The stative verbal derivative suffix is -ama.

469.

The stative species indicates a posture or position.

470.

Only a few of the examples give evidence of being derived from simple stems. Many statives in -ama are derived from ideophones and examples of these are included in this place. It is possible that some of these ideophones may once have been verbs. Other examples show no evidence of derivation from either simple stems or ideophones.

e.g. -kombama (be bowed, curly)	op. -komba (surround)
-dzikama (be still, quiet)	-dzika (be deep)
-sinama (frown)	-sina pameso (frown)
-pamama (be broad)	-pama (repeat)
-	
-rarama (be safe)	
-susuma (stand on tip-toe)	
-rurama (be straight)	
-virima (be haughty)	
-cingama (lie athwart)	
-nzengama (be crooked)	
-	
-tseama (lean over)	op. tsea (of leaning over)
-kotama (bow)	kota (of bowing)
-pfugama (kneel)	pfugada (of bowing)
-sunama (be upside-down)	sunu (of being upside down)
-vumbama (be bent over)	vumba (of being bent over)
-zendama (lean against)	zenda (of leaning)
-kwatama (lie prone)	kwata (of prone)
-ziyama (be nearly empty)	ziya (of being nearly empty)
-gadama (lie on the back)	gada (of lying on the back)
-nzandama (lie collapsed)	nzanda (of lying collapsed)
-zongama (be curled)	zonga (of being crooked, sinuous)

471.

The following examples instance statives in combination with the applied:

-mira (stand)	op. -ma (stand) Kl.
-tungamira (lead)	-tunga (pierce)
-kwamira (be alongside)	kwami (of being alongside)

The stative is readily combined with the neuter, causative and applied suffixes. It is even found with the passive.

- e.g. -ruramisa (make straight)
-pfugamira (kneel to, adore)

Panopfugamira (Here it is knelt)

The stative in -ara.¹

472.

A stative derivative ending in the case of a few verbs derived from simple stems is -ara, or, in a repeated form, -arara. The connotation of posture or position is present in these as in a great many ideophonic derivatives similarly ending in -ara. Examples of these latter derivatives are included in this place.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| e.g. -cacamara (project) | cp. -cacama (bulge) |
| -nyarara (be silent) | -nyara (be ashamed) |
| -remara (be a cripple) | -rema (be heavy) |
| -simbarara (recuperate) | -simba (be strong) |
| -shamarara (shout with wide open mouth) | -shama (open mouth) |
| -omarara (become hard) | -oma (be dry, hard) |
| -pfumarara (have a full mouth) | -pfunda (full mouth with water) |
| -sakara (wear out) | |
| -pfunara (wear out) | |
| -nyangara (be ugly) | |
| -pfumbara (fade) | |
| -tandara (converse) | |

- cp. perhaps, -rara (go to sleep)
-gara (sit)
-rwara (be sick)
-nyara (be ashamed)
-sara (remain)
-zara (be full)

473.

The causative of these verbs employs the short causative ending:

- e.g. -remadza (cripple)
-tandadza vampe (engage others in conversation)

Derivatives from ideophones:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| e.g. -mhara (perch) | cp. mha (of alighting) |
| -zambarara (lie prone) | zambara (of lying prone) |
| -conjomara (squat with knees up) | conjoma (of squatting) |
| -sunzumara (squat on haunches) | sunzuma (of squatting) |
| -tunhumara (be undulating) | (tunhuma (of undulating shape) |
| | (tunhu |
| | dunhu (rise) (5) |

1. Doke, Lamba, parr. 374, 386.

-bvubvumara (sit huddled up)	cp. bvubvuma (of being huddled up)
-tandavara (be stretched out)	tandava (of being elongated)
-yangarara (be buoyed up)	yagara (of floating)
-pafamara (lie flat)	pafama (of sitting flat)
-sakamara (stand upright)	sakama (of being upright)
-tasamara (be straight)	(tasama (of being straight)
-sakamara (stand firm)	(tasa straight)
-pfumvutara (be faded)	sakama (of being firm)
	pfumvuta (of being faded)

The ideophones ending in -ma may be old stative verbs become ideophones; or, -ma may be an ideophonic ending as well as a verbal derivative ending.

cp. (tasa
(tasama (of being straight)

(tunhu
(tunhuma (of being undulating)

m) The contactive species.

474. The contactive verbal derivative suffix is -ata.

475. The contactive species indicates an action implying contact with an object.

e.g. -pfumbata (close the hand on) cp. -pfumba (grasp)
 -sungata (hold in the arms)
 -kakata (pull) -kaka ngoma (stretch a drum)
 -nyangata (soak into) -nyanga (soften)
 -sungata (tether) -sunga (tie)
 -dzinyata (clasp) -dzinya (squeeze)
 -namata (adhere) -nama (plaster)
 -sunata (drink with the mouth in water) -sunama (be upside-down)
 -cengeta (keep) 1 -cengera (guard carefully)

476. The contactive suffix is found in combination with the applied, the causative, the reciprocal, the neuter and the passive suffixes.

e.g. kunamatira kumadziro (to stick to the walls)
 kunamatisa namo padende zizonetsa (to make wax stick on a calabash is difficult)
 kugumbatana (to embrace one another)
 Cinonamatika (It sticks easily).
 Akagumbatwa naamai vake paakauya (He was embraced by his mother on his arrival).

1. This is probably an example of progressive assimilation,
 -cengata -cengeta.

Derivative stems formed from verbs (continued).

477.

2) Derivative stems formed from verbs by the voicing of the initial phone of the simple stem.

Some verbs in Shona form an augmentative derivative by voicing the initial consonant or consonant combination of the verb stem. This voicing, while of the same general type as that observed in the formation of class 5 nouns, departs from it in certain respects, viz.

1) The voicing extends not only to the initial consonants but to consonant combinations as well.

e.g. -bganya (crush - eg. with a log)
cp. -pxanya (crush- eg. with the finger nails)

e.g. -dzamura (take a big handful)
cp. -tsamura (take a pinch)

11) The voicing may extend beyond the initial phone to the second syllable of the stem.

e.g. -vozhoka (gush out)
cp. -foshoka (come out)

111) The voicing is applied to other initial ^{phones} than are voiced in class 5.

e.g. -vozhoka (gush out)
cp. -foshoka (come out)

478.

Such voicing results in the formation of augmentatives which indicate an increase in the scope of the action indicated by the simple stem.

e.g. -gwiza (rub against- eg. of an ox against a tree)
cp. -kwiza (polish, rub)

-devedza (pursue)
cp. -tevera (follow)

-depuka (sway - of a large object, e.g. a gum-tree)
cp. -tepuka (sway - of a short, slim object)

-gwatisa (terrify)
cp. -kwatisa (frighten)

-dungana as in the expression - dungana nashe (go straight to the chief).
cp. -tunga (pierce)

-demerera (blunt axe- eg. against a stone)
cp. -tema (cut)

e.g.-gwadama (fall on the knees - of something heavy)
cp.-kwatama (fall- of something light)

-gwadaira (walk with great difficulty)
-kwataira (walk with difficulty)

479.

3) Derivative stems formed from the simple stem by reduplication. These may be called frequentatives, such reduplication giving rise to the frequentative species.

480.

The frequentative species indicates that the action is done over and over again, often that it is done all over a field of action.¹ In certain cases the effect of such repetition is climactic; in other cases, however, the frequentative indicates that the action, in being repeated and not sustained, is being done to no purpose and hence is anticlimactic.

Examples of climactic or cumulative repetition:

-famba-famba (walk all over)	cp. -famba (walk)
-rasa-rasa (be wasteful, be untidy)	-rasa (throw away)
-siya-siya (be neglectful)	-siya (leave)
-tamba-tamba (play all over)	-tamba (play)
-seka-seka (laugh all the time)	-seka (laugh)
-ceka-ceka (cut all the time, all the material)	-ceka (cut)
-simuka-simuka (be fidgety, stand and sit alternately)	-simuka (get up)

Rakauraya zhinji, dzimpe dzose dzicingunocema-cema (It killed many, all, the others meanwhile crying all the time).

cp. -cema (cry)

Mutongi wakabvunza-bvunza nokufeya-feya (The judge asked many questions and made many enquiries)

cp. -bvunza (ask) -feya (ask)

Ndiri kuḡaya-ḡaya mbambaira yangu (I am prodding my sweet potato all over)

cp. -ḡaya (pierce)

Anoumba-umba tunhu twose twose (She keeps fashioning all sorts of little things)

cp. -umba (mould)

481.

Examples of anticlimactic repetition:

-ḡata-ḡata (work lazily) cp. -ḡata (hold, work)

-dyara-dyara (sow anyhow) -dyara (sow)

Anongorara-rara (He just sleeps fitfully).

cp. -rara (sleep)

Anoda kuona-ona zishoma-shoma (He wants to see just a little).

cp. -ona (see)

Anonyanya kufamba-famba (He excels in walking about to no purpose)

cp. -famba (walk)

As may be gathered from the last example, a repetition may result in a climactic or anti-climactic frequentative.

Thus, also, -ḡata-ḡata (feel all over)

1. Cf. Doke, Lamba, par. 377. cp. Doke, Zulu, par. 355. The Diminutive.

-dyara-dyara (sow all over) etc.

482.

Monosyllabic verb stems are reduplicated with vowel i between.

e.g. Anongopa-ipa vanhu vose vose (He just keeps giving to everybody)
cp. -pa (give)

Rega kungodya-idya sadza rose rose (Don't just keep eating all the porridge)
cp. -dya (eat)

Nyama iri kutşa-itşa (The meat is getting burnt all over)
cp. -tşa (burn)

483.

All the derivative verb species may be reduplicated in this way.¹

e.g. -cekeka-cekeka (easy to cut all over)
cp. -cekeka (easy to cut, get cut) - the neuter

-raswa-raswa (be always thrown away)
cp. -raswa (be thrown away) - the passive

-ridza-ridza (always play)
cp. -ridza (play) - the causative.

Anongogaromusonera-sonera (He just keeps sewing for him all the time).
cp. -sonera (sew for) - the applied.

1. Another informant stated that, of the derivative species, only the passive could be so reduplicated, e.g. -raswa-raswa (be always thrown away); and that derivative suffixes were added to the second member of the reduplicated stem.

e.g. -cera-ceresa (cause to dig all over)
-cera-cerera (dig all over for)
-cera-cereka (easy to dig all over).

B.II Stems derived from ideophones.

484.

Ideophonic verbal derivatives are verb stems formed from ideophones by means of the addition of a verbal suffix to the ideophone. There are a great many of these derivatives in Shona. The most satisfactory classification of them is according to suffix.

The following suffixes are joined to ideophones in order to form derived verbs: 1) -ra, with neuter in -ka;
-ra forming statives;
-ra forming miscellaneous derivatives
 2) -ka;
 3) -ira;
 4) -ma;
-ma forming miscellaneous derivatives
 5) -dza.
 6) -ika.

485.

The suffix -ra with neuter in -ka.

A great many derivative verbs are formed from ideophones ending in o or u by the addition of the suffix -ra. Such verbs have usually a neuter with suffix -ka joined to the ideophone instead of -ra. Causative forms are also in use, those employing the short causative suffix being the most frequent. Causative forms of the verb stems in -ra and -ka thus end respectively in -dza and -tsa.¹

e.g.

-pfudugura (uncover) -pfuduguka (get uncovered) cp. pfudugu (of uncovering)

-parura (tear) -paruka (get torn) paru (of tearing)

-suura (strip, eg. bark) -suuka (get stripped) suu (of stripping)

-tsemura (split) -tsemuka (get split) tsemu (of splitting)

-cetura (snip) -cetuka (get snipped) cetu (of snipping)

-madura (break) -meduka (get broken) medu (of breaking)

-undura (remove feathers) -unduka (moult) undu (of moulting)²

cp. the causatives:

-pfudugudza (help uncover)
 -pfudugutsa (make uncovered)

-undudza (help to pluck)
 -undutsa (make moulted)

(Footnotes from the previous page)

1. Cf. the rules for the formation of the short causative in par. 428.
 2. I have heard many other examples, all of which follow the above pattern. But not all of these ideophonic derivatives have short causatives in use.
Cp. Doke, Zulu, par. 374.
Lamba, par. 390.
-

486.

The suffix -ra resulting in statives.

The ideophones to which this suffix is added all end in -a. Examples of these derivatives were given in par. 473 among the statives formed from verbs. There the stative suffix was said to be -ara, replacing the verbal terminative -a. In the case of the ideophonic derivatives it is probably more correct to speak of the suffix -ra joined to the ideophone

e.g. -mhara (perch)	cp. mha (of alighting, perching)
-zambarara (lie prone)	zambara (of lying prone)

487.

Miscellaneous ideophonic derivatives ending in -ra.

- 1) Certain ideophones ending in ai suffix -ra.

e.g. -nanaira (walk lightly)	cp. nanai (of walking lightly)
-tsaira (sweep)	tsai (of sweeping)
-saira (push)	sai (of pushing)
-bgaira (twinkle, wink)	bgai (of twinkling)
-vaira (boil up)	vai (of boiling up)
-naira (glitter)	nai (of glittering)

- 11) Ideophonic derivatives indicating cries.

e.g. -homura (bark-of a baboon)	cp. hom (cry of a baboon)
-hukura (bark-of a dog)	hu-hu (barking of a dog)
-kokorora (croak-of a frog)	kōkororo (croaking of a frog)
-shinyira (hiss- of a snake)	sh-sh (hissing of a snake)

488.

The suffix -ka.

Certain ideophones suffix -ka to form transitive verb with extensive connotation.

e.g. -payika (hang up)	cp. payi (of hanging up)
-turika (hang up)	turi (of hanging up)
-darika (step over)	dari (of stepping over)
-jitika (jump down)	jiti (of jumping down)
-cirika (jump over)	ciri (of jumping over)
-tereka (place on fire)	tere (of placing on fire)
-simuka (rise)	simu (of getting up)
-setuka (jump)	setu (of jumping)
-yanika (spread out)	yani (of spreading out)
-yambuka (cross over)	yambu (of crossing)
-bururuka (fly)	bururu (of flying)
-kwanyanuka (rise)	kwanyanu (of rising)
-koceka (hang up)	koce (of hooking)

489.

The suffix -ira.

This ending is joined to many ideophones ending in -a. The resultant derivative verbs all indicate intermittent action or action to and fro. The ideophones from which the verbs are derived are usually reduplicated.

e.g. -ritaira (loiter, walk aimlessly) cp. rita-rita (of loitering)

-uekaira (walk animatedly) ueka-ueka (of walking animatedly)

-kanyaira (walk swinging from side to side) kanya-kanya (of walking swinging from side to side)

--tekaira (sway from side to side) cp. teka-teka (of swaying from side to side)

The following examples with this ending are verbal derivatives.

-shenaira (look here and there for means of revenge) cp. -shena-shena (work hard)

-shingaira (be hard working) -shingha (be zealous)

490.

The suffix -ma with stative significance.

Examples of ideophonic derivatives with this suffix were given in par. 470 among the statives in -ama formed from verbs.

There the stative suffix was said to be -ama as replacing the terminative -a. In the case of the ideophonic derivatives it is probably more correct to speak of the suffix -ma joined to the ideophone.

e.g. -tseama (lean over) cp. tsea (of leaning)
-kotama (bow) kota (of bowing)

491.

The suffix -ma is also used with ideophones which are reduplicated to indicate vibratory or intermittent action.¹

e.g. -babama (flap wings) cp. ba-ba (of flapping wings)
-tutuma (rise - of dough) tu-tu (of rising-of dough)
-vuvuma (moan - of wind) vu-vu (of blowing-of wind)
-zuzuma (shiver) zu-zu (of shivering)
-ririma (roar-of fire) ri-ri-ri (of roaring fire)
-cacama (fall heavily - of rain) ca-ca-ca (of falling rain)
-ndandama (stutter) nda-nda (of stuttering)

The same underlying idea seems to be found in the following derivatives in which -ma is added to ideophones ending in -ai.

e.g. -vaima (boil) cp. vai-vai (of boiling)
-vaima (flash) vai-vai (of sparkling)
-taima (glitter) tai-tai (of glittering)

1. Cp. Doke, Lamba, par. 395.

492.

The suffix -dza is used to form certain verbs indicating animals' cries from the corresponding ideophones.

e.g. -bararadza (bleat)	cp. barara (cry of a sheep)
-hwiwidza (neigh)	hwi-hwi (cry of a horse)
-njereredza (sing- of a cicada)	njerere (cry of a cicada)
-kekedza (cluck - of a hen)	ke-ke-ke (clucking of hen)
9kukuridza (crow)	kukurigo (crowing of cock)
-nipidza (hum-of a bee)	nji (humming of a bee)
-ngururudza (growl- of a leopard)	ngrr (growling of a leopard)
cp.-pururudza (ululate)	pururu (ululating of women)

493.

The suffix -ika replaces the final vowel of ideophones in certain cases. These verbs are neuter and may have corresponding transitive forms ending in -ra.

e.g. -pfudigira (cover)	-pfidigika (get covered) cp. pfidige (of covering)
-rukutira (soften)	-rukutika (be languid) cp. rukutu (of being tired)
	-zhangarika (be abnormal) cp. zhangara (be abnormal)
-nyangarira (dissolve)	-nyangarika (disappear-like ice) cp. nyangara (of dissolv- ing)
	-pfakanyika (be twisted) cp. pfakanya (of being twisted)

494.

In the following cases verbal terminative -a replaced the final vowel of the ideophone.

e.g. -bvuta (snatch)	cp. bvutu (of snatching)
-denha (provoke)	denhu (of annoying)
-tubvunya (press)	tubvunyu (of pressing some- thing soft)
-shoyoya (abate)	shoyoyo (of pain abating)

III. Verb stems derived from nouns and qualificatives.

495.

Such derivative verb stems are very few in number.

1) Stems derived from qualificatives.

Adjectival qualificatives seem to be the only qualificatives from which verb stems are derived. Such derivatives are all intransitive save for two examples of the causative. They are listed under the suffix with which each appears.

Suffix -ka.

e.g. -tšeneka (be pure)	cp. -tsene (pure)
-kobvuka (be thick)	-kobvu (thick)
-sinuka (be clean, vigorous)	-sinu (clean, vigorous)
-pfupika (be short)	-pfupi (short)
-shomeka (be few)	-shoma (few)

In the last example, final -a of the adjective has been replaced by e by progressive assimilation. This happens also in the example immediately following.

Suffix -ruka.

e.g. -ceneruka (be whitish)	cp. -cena (white)
-tsukuruka (be reddish)	-tsuku (red)

Suffix -pa

e.g. -dukupa (get small)	cp. -duku (small)
-tetepa (get thin)	-tete (thin)
-ipa (get bad)	-vi (evil) ¹

Suffix -pa.

e.g. -nyorova (get soft)	cp. -nyoro (soft)
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Suffix -ama, replacing the final consonant.²

e.g. -pamama (be broad)	cp. -pami (broad)
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Suffix -isa or -esa.³

e.g. -pfupisa (shorten)	cp. -pfupi (short)
-cenesa (whiten)	-cena (white)

496.

11) Stems derived from nouns.

Examples of these derivatives are so few that systematic treatment is impossible. Some of the suffixes are reminiscent of verbal and ideophonic derivative suffixes.

e.g. -pfimbika (ripen fruit)	cp. pfimbi (hole for ripening fruit) (9)
	cp. the extensive.
-tsotsonyora (knock off burnt ash)	cp. tsotsonyo (burnt ash) (9)
-pupura (give witness)	capupu (witness) (7)
-pfipfidza (giggle)	bvipfipfi (suppressed laugh) (5)
-shamgaridzana (be mutually friendly)	shamgari (friend) (9)
	cp. the reciprocal
-pofumara (get blind)	sofu (blind man) (5)
	cp. the stative.
-kambaira (crawl)	hamba (tortoise) (9)
-nangaira (walk straightly)	nanga (fine girl) (9)

Sometimes it is not clear whether a verb stem is derived from a noun or an ideophone, both noun and ideophone having the same form.

e.g. -ziririka (buzz)	cp. ziriri (buzz) (5)
	ziriri (of buzzing)
-sanzura (split)	sanzu (splinter) (5)
	sanzu (of splintering)
-tenhuka (slope)	mutenhu (slope) (3)
	tenhu (of sloping)

(Footnotes from the previous page)

1. Note the elision of the consonant y in the derivative.
 2. I take the suffix to be the same as the stative suffix -ama.
 3. The causative ending is -isa after immediately preceding y and -esa after immediately preceding e.
-

497.

Many verb stems in Shona have a common semantic characteristic in that they properly indicate, not an action or state as such, but the process whereby a state is reached.

e.g. -guta (become sated)
-gara (become seated)
-naka (become good)

Past forms of the verb conjugation when incorporating verb stems of this type indicate present state, it being understood that it is the process of reaching the state which is properly past.

e.g. ndaguta (I am sated)
ndigere (I am seated)
wakanaka (he is good)

498.

Of the verbal species given above, the statives in -ama and -ara are inchoative. So are all the neuter forms of the ideophonic verb stems and the adjectival derivatives save the causatives. Many of the associative and neuter stems are similarly inchoative, as well as many simple stems.

e.g. Takararama (We are safe)
Uanyerere (They are silent)
Dzacakwidzika (They are covered)
Pakanyorova (Here it is soft)

1. Cf. the writer's article: The Conjugation of Inchoative Verbs in Shona. African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3. Sept. 1949, p. 132.

449. The Conjugation of the verb.

The term conjugation, used broadly, refers to the totality of the forms and inflexions of the verb.¹ With these we now propose to deal, distinguishing them into the categories into which they fall.

500. The first division of the Shona verb results in two conjugations, positive and negative. Here the term conjugation is used, not in its broad sense as referring to the total behaviour of the verb, but in a technical and restricted sense, as referring to either positive or negative action or state. It is in this latter sense that the term will be used when verbforms are being analysed or described as being positive or negative. The positive conjugation expressed a union between the subject and the predicate as opposed to the negative conjugation which expresses a separation or variance between subject and predicate.²

e.g. positive: Ini, ndinoziva (As for me, I know)
negative: Ini, handiziva (As for me, I know not)

501. Within each conjugation there are moods. These are special forms "assumed by the verb in order to mark some special manner (modus) in which that connection between a subject and predicate, which every verb implies, is viewed by the speaker."³ In Shona there are eight moods. Of these, one is a non-finite mood, viz. the infinitive. The remaining moods are finite and to these alone the definition of mood given above properly applies.⁴

1. Cf. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.75.

2. Cf. Doke, op. cit., p. 171.

3. Bradley, quoted in Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p. 147, entry: Mood.

4. Cf. par. 385 above.

The finite moods are the imperative, the indicative, the potential, the participial, the relative, the subjunctive, and the hortative.

As has already been indicated in the definition of mood, moods are distinguished broadly according to the way the speaker views the connection between subject and predicate. In the positive conjugation this connection may be viewed:

- 1) as commanded: (The imperative) e.g. torayi (take ye)
- 2) as actual: (The indicative) e.g. ndinotora (I take)
- 3) as possible: (The potential) e.g. ndingatore (I can take)
- 4) as conceived: (The participial) e.g. ndicitora (I taking)
- 5) as actual but
qualificative: (The relative) e.g. Ini ndinotora (I who take)
- 6) as aimed at: (The subjunctive) e.g. (kuti) nditore ((so that) I may take)
- 7) as exhorted: (The hortative) e.g. nganditore (let me take)

In the infinitive, the connection between subject and predicate does not exist. The action is merely named.

502. The finite moods are divided into tenses. We may distinguish four tenses according to the time referred to in the predicate with reference to the time present in mind, which may, or may not, coincide with the actual

present.¹ There are two past tenses, one recent, referring to actions and states that took place on the day of speaking, or the day referred to, and the other, non-recent, referring to actions and states that took place before the day of speaking or the day in mind.

e.g. Wauya nhasi (He came today).

Wakauya nezuro (He came yesterday).

There is the present tense, referring to actions and states in existence at the time of speaking or at the time in mind.

e.g. Ndiri kutora (I am taking).

Finally, there is the future tense which refers to actions and states which lie ahead of the present.

e.g. Ndicatora (I shall take).

-
1. This point of reference, according to which tense is reckoned, may change within the same passage of speech. Thus in a story in which events are, as a whole, reported as having taken place in past time and which are presented in the non-recent past tense, direct speech is reported with reference to the actual time of speaking. Not only this, but the narrator himself may change his point of reference from the actual present to locate himself among the events of the past which he is relating, the actions, and their tenses, now being presented from that angle.

e.g. Shumba yakati: "Uya kurumidza, uya undisunge". Shumba ikagodzinziri mbiradzakondo, nga-nga-nga, ndi-ndi-ndi, tsinziri nadzo Uashumba vamboti: "Ndini ndinozigona", vasara vakasungwa, vasina kupuwa huci. Mhuka dzose dzakadzoka, dzakaona shumba yakasungwa mbiradzakondo, mhuka dzose dzakaiseka, dziciti: "Ko, nayi shumba.."

(The lion said (non-recent past): "Come, hurry, come and bind me". The lion was then trussed up, nga-nga-nga, ndi-ndi-ndi, falling sidelong with it..... Mr. Lion, who said: "It is I who can do this", he remained (NB. recent past) tied up, not given honey. All the animals returned (NB. the tense returns to non-recent past), and they saw lion trussed up, and all the animals laughed at it, saying: "Tell us, do, lion ..."

cf. Rugwaro rwecina, Chishawasha, 1944,
p. 43.

This tense division applies unevenly to the moods, being found fully developed only in the indicative, and that section of the participial and relative moods which is based on the indicative. It is far less developed in the subjunctive, and even less so in the potential, imperative and hortative.

503. Within the moods and tenses, there are further categories of conjugations. These are the implications, the aspects and the modes. An implication is a modal form of the verb which refers to the tenure of the action in regard to previous time. Thus there are three implications, simple, progressive and exclusive. In the progressive implication it is implied that the action had gone on, has gone on, or will have gone on, prior to the time in mind whether this be respectively past, present or future.

e.g. Ucandiziva here ? (Do you still know me?)
(Present progressive)

In the exclusive implication it is implied that the action did not go on, has not gone on, or will not have gone on prior to the time in mind.

e.g. Ndoziva (I now know) (Present exclusive)

Thus the progressive and exclusive implications are contraries. A form which is neither progressive nor exclusive is termed simple with regard to implication. Such a form implies no contrast between the time in mind and previous time.

e.g. Ndinoziva (I know) (Present simple).

504. Again, within these implications, simple, progressive and exclusive, there is a further subdivision into aspects. The aspects are indefinite, continuous and perfect. An aspect, like an implication, is a modal form viz. a further precision of significance over and above that of conjugation, mood, tense and, here, implication. The aspects refer to the continuousness or completeness of the action. In the continuous aspect, the action is presented as going on over a period of time, not confined to one point.

e.g. *Miri kutora* (I am taking).

In the perfect aspect, the action is presented as complete at the point of time in mind.

e.g. *Ndaguta* (I am replete).

These aspects are not contraries but are contrasted, the continuous aspect presenting the action as going on over a period, the perfect aspect presenting the action which, having gone through a period of inception, is now complete as a state. A form which is neither continuous nor perfect is termed indefinite with regard to aspect.

505. A further distinction within the indicative, the participial, and the relative moods must be made between the habitual and non-habitual forms. These forms may be termed modes. A mode refers to the habitual or non-habitual character of the action or state and may be either habitual or non-habitual. They are termed here, respectively, habitual and incidental.

e.g. *Niaiziva* (I used to know) (Past habitual)
Niakaziva (I knew) (Non-recent past incidental)

506. Tense combinations.

A tense combination is a combination in one compound predicative form of two tenses expressing a relationship of one time to another.

e.g. *Ndanga niatora* (Lit. I was I having taken; viz. I had taken).

Here the relationship of times in the tense combination is that of recent past time to recent past time.

The tense combinations are particular examples of what is known as the compound predicate. The compound predicate is made up of two or more verbs, of which the first is called the deficient verb, and the remaining verb or verbs, the complement. In the tense combination, it is the relationship of the tense of the deficient verb to that of the complement which is expressed by the total compound predicate. The tense of the deficient verb is the tense of the compound predicate as a whole and is reckoned, if it be in the indicative, with reference to the present.

The tense of the complement is stated in reference to the tense of the deficient verb.

e.g. The deficient verb *ndanga* (I was) refers to recent past time; with reference to this tense an action may be expressed

1) as having taken place:-

e.g. *Ndanga ndaenda* (I was I having gone; viz. I had gone);

2) as taking place:-

e.g. *Ndanga ndicienda* (I was I going; viz. I was going);

3) as about to take place:-

e.g. *Ndanga ndicaenda* (I was I about to go; I was about to go).

These combinations are, respectively, recent past-recent past, recent past-present, and recent past-future tense combinations.

507. The individual verb form is the point of intersection for all the above modalities of the verbal conjugation. It is positive or negative in conjugation; it may be indicative, potential, participial, relative, subjunctive, hortative or imperative in mood; past, present or future in tense; it may be simple, progressive or exclusive in implication; indefinite, continuous or perfect in aspect; incidental or habitual in mode; and, if the verb is compound in form, it may instance a tense combination.

In describing or analysing any given form according to these categories, the order followed will be as above, in descending order of scope, viz. conjugation, mood, tense, implication, aspect, mode, tense combination. Conjugation, mood and tense will always be given in descriptive analyses, but where implication is simple, aspect indefinite, and mode incidental, these will not be specially mentioned.

e.g. Kdaenda (I went) is positive, indicative, recent past.

Ndanga ndiciri kuenda (I was still going) is positive, indicative, recent past, progressive, continuous, recent past-present combination.

THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

The order of treatment is as follows:-

- I. The formatives employed in the conjugation.
- II. The basic conjugation of the verb.
- III. The conjugation of compound predicates.

508. I. The formatives employed in the conjugation.

This section is concerned with the study of the formative elements which are prefixed or suffixed to the verb root, simple or derivative, in the formation of the various conjugations, moods, tenses, implications, aspects and modes. Since the verb root remains constant and unmodified throughout the conjugation of the verb,¹ it is the formatives which are important for distinguishing the various categories outlined above.

Formatives may be divided into the following types:

- 1) those prefixal to the verb root; a) concordial
formatives;
b) other prefixal
formatives;
- 2) those suffixal to the verb root; a) the terminatives;
b) other suffixal
formatives.

1. Except in the case of five verbs in Ze. and Ka. whose root vowels are assimilated to a terminative -e in the perfect. Cf. par. 61. iii.

509. 1) The prefixal formatives.

a) The predicative concords.

Predicative concords are of two types, subjectival and objectival. The subjectival concord shows the person and number of the doer or subject and, in the 3rd. person, the noun class to which the subject, expressed or implied, belongs.

The objectival concord indicates the object of the verb and, in the third person, the noun class to which the object, expressed or implied, belongs. The subjectival concord is used with all finite forms of the verb save the positive imperative; the objectival concord is used with all forms of the verb, finite and non-finite, when reference to the object is necessary.

510. The subject¹ concords.

1) The basic subjectival concords:-

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st. person	ndi-		ti-
2nd. person	u-		mu-
3rd. person, class 1	a-/u-		class 2, va-
class 3	u-		class 4 i-
class 5	ri-		class 6 a-
class 7	ci-		class 8 zi-
class 9	i-		class 10 dzi-
class 11	ru-		
class 13	ka-		class 12 tu-
			class 14 hu-/vu-

1. The shorter terms, subject and object concords, will henceforth be used instead of subjectival and objectival concords.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
3rd person	class 15	ku-	
	class 16	pa-	
	class 17	ku-	
	class 18	mu-	
	class 19	si-	
	class 21	ri- ¹	

The above subject concords are called basic because the other sets of subject concords, of which there are two, are based upon this set, and because the above forms are found in the great majority of verbal forms.

511. Formation. The subject concords of the third person correspond very closely to the noun prefixes of their respective classes. In the majority of cases the two are identical, but in those cases where the noun prefix contains or has contained a nasal consonant, viz. classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10,² the subject concord consists of a vowel identical with the prefixal vowel (in classes where the noun prefix is monosyllabic) or of the first syllable of the original prefix (in the case of the originally disyllabic prefix, dziN-).

512. Ze. differs from Ka. and Ma. in using a- as the subject concord for the 3rd person, class 1 in all positive indicative, potential and direct relative present and future forms. In these forms Ka. and Ma. use u-. But in all forms of the negative, as well as in the positive participial, relative of indirect relation and subjunctive, all dialect groups use a-.

-
1. The subject and object concords of class 21 are the same as those of class 5.
 2. Excepting class 18 which retains the nasal consonant in all its concords.

e.g. Mjana unocema (The child cries) Ka. Ma.

mjana anocema (The child cries) Ze.

Mjana haacemi (The child does not cry) Ka. Ma.

mjana haaceme (The child does not cry) Ze.

Of the two forms for the subject concord of class 14, the first is used by Ze. and Ma., the second by Ka.

513. In the positive indicative and potential, subject concords of the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, are low in tone; those of the 3rd person, in all classes, are high. This applies to the past concords as well but not to the exclusive concords which are uniformly high in tone.

514. Examples of the use of the subject concord.

Kaziwa shamgari, unofara here ? (Hello, friend, are you happy ?)

Hoggu, ndinofara munofarawo ? (Yes, I am happy; are you happy too ?)

Ini, ndinoziwa (As for me, I know)

cp. Ndinoziwa (I know)

Ukadzi vanoroorwa nemombe (Wives are lobola-ed with cattle)

cp. Vanoroorwa nemombe (They are lobola-ed with cattle).

Imbga inoruma here? (Does the dog bite?)

cp. Inoruma here? (Does it bite?)

515. From these examples it will be seen that the function of the subject concord is both concordial and pronominal. In agreeing with the subject, either expressed or implied, it relates the verb to the noun concordially; at the same time, it signifies the subject, both in itself and qua subject. As in the case of the pronouns, so subject concords may be used in secondary

reference when, in the context of an expressed or implied subject of a certain class, the subject concord is of a different class. When this happens, the significances connected with the secondary function of the class to which the subject concord belongs are expressed. Thus, if the implied or expressed subject is murume (man) and the speaker uses the subject concord of class 5, the subject is expressed as large and, possibly, brutal.

e.g. (in a discussion of a quarrel between husband and wife).

Ukamubvunza kuti zauya seyi izi, mukadzi anoti "Rinoshusha", kana kuti "Rinokara". (If you ask her how these things came about, the woman says: "He (the large one) persecutes" or "He (the large one) is greedy".)

"Unorovereyi munuguna kudayi?" "Cinonyanya kusateerera" ("Why do you beat your younger brother like this?" "He (the fat, naughty one) is exceedingly disobedient").

Another case in which the subject concord does not agree concordially with the expressed or implied subject is that whereby relative qualificatives of indirect relation are rendered by relatives of direct relation, no formal change being made to the real subject, Cf. par. 365.

e.g. Tarirayi zineita baba wenyu (Lit. See what does your father; viz. See what your father does).

instead of:

Tarirayi zaaneita baba wenyu (See what your father does).

516. The indefinite concords are those of classes 7, 8 and 15. Of these, the concords of classes 7 and 8 refer to conditions or factors arising out of the social life and culture.

e.g. Zinodiwa kwazo (It is very important).

Zivayi kuti mukadzi akaenda kudoropa, ciripo camunetsa (Know that if a woman goes to town, there is something which has annoyed her).

Zinorema seyi kufunda mazuwa ano (How hard it is to learn these days).

Ndinokuudza zinorewa naambuya (I will tell you what is said by the old woman).

Hazineyi (It is nothing; lit. Not them with what).

The class 15 concords refer to impersonal factors like the weather or chance. It is also used as the grammatical subject of passive stems, the real subjects being indicated by agentive adverbials.¹

e.g. Kuri kudzia nhasi (It is hot to-day).

Kunotonorera mazuwa ano (It is cool these days).

Kwakanga kuna vakomana vaviri (There were two boys).

Havaende kuḡondo; kunoendwa navakadzi navana cete (They do not go to Sunday-meeting; it is gone by women and children only. Viz. only women and children go).

Kunofiwa navanhu nemhuka (It is died by people and animals).

517. Where the subject of the verb is plural and consists of nouns belonging to different noun classes and not all indicating persons, the subject concord is of class 8.

e.g. Munhu wakauya nemombe; ziri panze (A person came with cattle; they (viz. the person and the cattle) are outside).

Habiza nemombe ziri kuḡika (The horses and cattle are arriving).

Bere nehava zinoshamgaridzana (The hyena and jackal are friendly).

1. This impersonal concord may be of class 17. But cf. frv. to Par 524.

But when the nouns of different classes which form the composite subject all indicate persons, then the subject concord is of class 2.

e.g. vakadzi netsimborume vari kutamba (The women and the young men are dancing).

518. The use of the subject concords of classes 16, 17 and 18 should be noticed. These have to be translated by an indefinite subject but in Shona the locative idea is present in the concord.

e.g. Zino wafunura hari mukaḡuḡa rucembere (Then he uncovered the pot and there came out a thin old woman; lit. (from) in came out...)

Mumhuno yomucembere mukaḡuḡa mombe, mbudzi ...

dzose pfuma (From out of the nose of the old woman there came out cattle, goats ... all wealth; lit. (from) in came out...)

Gumbo rakatḡa; pacapora (The leg is burnt; it (lit. at) shall heal).

Hapasati pavakirwa (It is not yet built on).

Hapana-wakauya (There is no one who came).

Kunze kuri kuedza (Outside it is dawning).

519. In stories where the subjects are personified animals or objects, the story-teller may use subject concords of class 1a or of the class to which the animal or object normally belongs. In this, Shona story tellers are not very consistent, but may change in the same tale from one convention to the other.

520. 11) The past subject concords.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st. person	nda-		ta-
2nd. person	wa-		ma-/mga-
3rd. person, class 1	wa-/a-		class 2 va-
class 3	wa-		class 4 ya-
class 5	ra-		class 6 a-
class 7	ca-		class 8 za-
class 9	ya-		class 10 dza-
class 11	rwa-		
class 13	ka-		class 12 twa-
class 14	hwa-/bga-		
class 15	kwa-		
class 16	pa-		
class 17	kwa-		
class 18	ma-/mga-		
class 19	sa-		
class 21	ra-		

521. Formation.

The past concords are formed from the basic subject concords by the addition to them of the formative a.

The following is a summary of the changes that occur in this formation.

When the basic concord contains or consists of vowel a, then vowel $\overset{a}{i} + \underline{a} > \underline{a}$, the concordial vowel a being elided.

e.g. ka- + a > ka- (13); a- + a > a- (6)

When the basic concord contains vowel i, the vowel $\underline{i} + \underline{a} > \underline{a}$, the vowel i being elided.

e.g. ndi- + a > nda- (1st person singular)

When the basic concord consists of vowel i, then vowel i + a > ya-.

e.g. i- + a > ya- (9)

When the basic concord contains vowel u, then vowel u + a > wa after non-bilabial consonants.

e.g. ku- + a > kwa- (15).

In addition, after non-velar and non-glottal consonants, there is evolution of a velar or prevelar consonant between the consonant of the concord and the semi-vowel.

e.g. ru- + a > rwa- (phon. rgwa-/rywa-) (11)

But after bilabial consonants, the semi-vowel into which u is turned is consonantalized, or, in the case of the 2nd person plural, and class 18 in Ze. and Ka., it is elided.

e.g. vu- + a > bga- (14) Ka.

mu- + a > mpa- (2nd person plural and class 18) Ma.

but mu- + a > ma- (2nd person plural and class 18)
Ze. Ka.

When the basic concord consists of vowel u, then vowel u + a > wa.

e.g. u- + a > wa- (3rd person, singular) Ka. and Ma.

522. The alternative forms of the concords.

Alternative forms are given for the concords in the cases of the 3rd person singular; the 2nd person plural and class 18; and class 14. The distribution is as follows:

1) 3rd person, singular.

The form for the positive indicative, 3rd. person, class 1 is wa- in Ka. and Ma. In these dialect-groups the form for the participial past is a-. Ze. uses both wa- and a- for the positive indicative past, a- for the participial past. In all dialect groups the form of this concord for the negative is a-.

2) 2nd. person, plural and class 18.

As indicated above, Ze. and Ka. use the form ma- in these positions, Ma. uses mna-.

3) Class 14.

As indicated above, the form bga- is in use in Ka., The form hwa- is used in Ze. and Ma.

523. Use of the past concords.

The above forms of the past concords are used identical in phonetic form, except in the crucial case of the third person class 1, for all the positive indicative, participial and relative pasts as well as certain negative indicative pasts.¹

e.g. Ndaenda (I went) Positive indicative recent past.

Ndakaenda (I went) Positive indicative non-recent past.

Ndaienda (I used to go) Positive indicative past habitual.

This concord is also used for the present perfect aspect.

e.g. Ndaneta (I am tired) Positive indicative present perfect.

Ndakakora (I am fat) Positive indicative present perfect.

524. Examples of the past indefinite concords.

Zakanaka (It is good)

Zakaipa (It is bad)

Zakafanira (It is fitting)

Pokupedza kwakauya² mukomana wakagadzira rutsito

1. For details, cf. the conjugation which is set out below.

2. I regard this indefinite concord as being of class 15. One suasive reason appears to be the following. An alternative form of this past concord (which also occurs in the form ka-) is hwa- (also occurring as ha-).

e.g. kwanzi naamai (it was said by mother); also kanzi naamai; neamai hwanzi naamai (it was said by mother); also hanzi naamai.

These alternative concords seem to be derived from a basic form hu- (which may be the subject concord of class 14) Now another instance in which there is a linkage between a class 15 formative and hu- occurs in the formation of impersonal copulatives from infinitives. By raising the tone of the prefix in a class 15 noun, e.g. kutora, the impersonal copulative kutora (it is taking) is formed. Another and alternative way of forming copulatives from infinitives is to substitute hu-, with high tone, for the class 15 prefix, e.g. hutora (it is taking). This latter linkage, which definitely obtains between hu- and the prefix of class 15, suggests that the former is also between a derived form of hu- and the class 15 concord.

rwakasimba asi mhepo yaicipinda (At the end there came a young man who erected a strong fence but the wind used often to come in).

Kwaive nomunhu anonzi Mudzingwa anomusikana mumpe cete (There used to be a person called Mudzingwa who had only one daughter).

Kwaiti, kana muridzi oda zake kutengesa muranda wake, otengesa nemari yaanoda (It used to happen, when an owner wanted to sell his slave, he would sell for the money which he wanted).

Asi zino kwakauya vacena vakavarambidza tsika dzose dzakare (But now there came the whites who forbade them all the customs of old).

525. 111) The subject concord of the present exclusive.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>No number</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st. person,	ndo-		to-
2nd. person,	wo-		mo-/mgo-
3rd. person, class 1	wo-/o-		class 2 oo-
class 3	wo-		class 4 yo-
class 5	ro-		class 6 o-
class 7	co-		class 8 zo-
class 9	yo-		class 10 dzo-
class 11	rwo-		
class 13	ko-		class 12 two-
		class 14 hwo-/bgo-	
		class 15 kwo-	
		class 16 po-	
		class 17 kwo-	
		class 18 mo-/mgo-	
	class 19 so-		
	class 21 ro-		

526. Formation.

The exclusive concords are formed from the basic subject concords by the addition to them of the formative o. This occasions the same changes to the vowels of the basic concords as the formative a of the past tenses.

530. The forms for the object concord are the same as those of the basic subject concord save for the 2nd. person singular and plural, and the 3rd. person class 1. The form for the 2nd. person singular is -ku- in all dialect groups. Of the forms for the 2nd. person plural, the first form given, viz. -ku-..yi, is found in Ze. and Ka., the second form, viz. -mu-..yi is found in Ka., and the third form, viz. -mu-, is found in Ka. and Ma. Thus the distribution is as follows:¹

-ku-..yi	Ze. Ka.
-mu-..yi	Ka.
-mu-	Ka. Ma.

The first two forms are compound. The first element is placed immediately before the verb stem, the second element is suffixed to the verb stem.

e.g. kukuonayi (to see you (pl.)) Ze.
 kumuonayi (to see you (pl.)) Ka.
 kumuona (to see you (pl.)) Ma.

The suffixal element of the compound object concords is the same as that found in plural imperatives and other interjectives used in the plural of address or honorific plural.

e.g. kaziwayi (hail to you (pl.))

Of the two forms given for class 14, -hu- is used in Ze. and Ma., -ou- in Ka.

531. The object concord is always placed immediately in front of the verb stem. In compound predicates it is found in the complement which contains the verb stem indicating the action.

e.g. Ndinomuona (I see him)
 Ndiri kumuona (I am seeing him)
 Ndazomuona (I came to see him)
 Ndanga ndicimuona (I was seeing him)

532. The use of the object concord.

Like the subject concord, the object concord is part of the total predicates and is only used when reference to an object is necessary.² This is the case when the object 1

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, the comparative vocabularies under the entry: you (obj. conc.)

2. A further difference is that the object concord may be used with the infinitive and the positive imperative.

referred to pronominally and not expressed substantively, or when the object, which is expressed substantively, is definite.

e.g. Ndamuona nhasi (I saw him today)
Danondisema (They hate me)

Ndawaona ishe (I saw the chief)
cp. Ndaona ishe (I saw a chief)

Ndaipfura shumba (I shot the lion)
cp. Ndapfura shumba (I shot a lion)

Havana kugge vanyatso-zinzwisisisa zokuti humambo
hwake hahusiri hwapano (They did not seem to
have grasped well (the fact) that his kingdom
was not of this (place) here).

The object concord, while being a concord, does not have the same constitutive function as other concords which are required for the existence of the words in which they appear, relating them as such to the dominant substantive. Its function seems to be more pronominal than concordial.

533. The reflexive infix -zi- is identical in form with the object concord of class 8. It refers to the self as a term of action and is of the same form whatever be the noun class of the subject of the verb.

e.g. Walda kuzitsagira nzimbo (He was wanting to look for a place for himself).

Ko, cinyavada cingaziruma here? (Tell me, can a scorpion sting itself?) Ka.

kuzifutisa (to puff oneself up)
kuzifunga (to think of oneself, to be selfish)
kuzivuta (to puff oneself up)
kuzitunhidza (to praise oneself)
kuzikudza (to boast)
kuzinyima (to deny oneself)
kuzituma (to apply oneself)
kuzipingura (to control oneself)

534. For the object concord as a secondary object with applied and causative verb stems, cf. parr. 415, 432.

535. If the object referred to be plural in number and its components belong to different noun classes, the object concord is of class 8. But the object concord of class 2 is used when the objects of different classes all indicate persons.

e.g. Mombe, mabiza, huku, ndazitegesa zose (Cattle, horses, fowls, I have sold them all).

536. The object concords of classes 16, 17 and 18 refer

to places even though the names of these be not locative class nouns.

- e.g. Tomupinda umu? (Are we to go in here?)
Ndinopada pangu calpo (I love it, my very own place)
Mapaziva? (Do you know where?)
Handidi kukuenda (I don't want to go there)

In the last example -ku- may refer to kucikoro (the direction of school), kwaNingi (So-and-so's), Harare (Salisbury) etc.

Prefixal formatives (continued)

537. b) Non-concordial formatives prefixal to the verb stem.

These formatives are distinguished according to function into the following types:

- i) Formatives of conjugation;
- ii) Formatives of mood;
- iii) Formatives of tense;
- iv) Formatives of implication;
- v) Formatives of aspect;
- vi) Formatives of mode.

538. 1) Formatives of conjugation.

These are all specifically negative.

- 1) The formative ha-.

This is the prefixal negative formative used in the indicative and potential.

- e.g. Handitore (I do not take) - negative indicate present.
Handiri kutora (I am not taking) - negative indicative continuous.
Handatora (I did not take) - negative indicative recent past.
Handakatora (I did not take) - negative indicative non-recent past.
Handaitora (I used not to take) - negative indicative past habitual.
Handicatora (I will not take) - negative indicative future.
Handingatore (I cannot take) - negative potential present.

539. 2) The formative -sa-.

The formative -sa- is often infixes in negative indicative past forms. The prefixal formative ha- is also used and the subject concord used is that of basic type, save in the pasthabitual.

This construction seems most common in Ka. In Ka. the formative often appears as -za-.

- e.g. Handisatora (I did not take) - negative indicative recent past.
 Handisakatora (I did not take) - negative indicative non-recent past.
 Handaisatora (I used not to take) - negative indicative past habitual.
 op. Handizakatora (I did not take) Ka. - negative indicative non-recent past.

540. The formative -sa- is used in the formation of the participial past.

- e.g. Ndisatora (I not having taken) - negative participial recent past.
 Ndisakatora (I not having taken) - negative participial non-recent past.
 Ndisatora (I not having habitually taken) - negative participial past habitual.

The same formative is occasionally found in negative present participials and negative participial and relative forms of the potential.

- e.g. Ndanga ndicisada (I was not wanting)
 op. ndicida (I wanting)

Ndiani ungasafunga kurwadza kwakadayi? (who is it who would not think of such a sickness?)

Further, it is probably the infix -sa-, as having coalesced with the vowel u of a following infinitive, which explains the following negative participial present form:

- e.g. ndisoda (I not wanting) < ndisa + kuda

This formative -so- (< -sa- + contracted infinitive prefix) is a fairly common negative participial formative in Ze.²

541. -sa- is the formative for the negative subjunctive, present (in Ze. and Ka.) and past, and for the negative hortative (Ze. Ma.)

- e.g. (kuti) asatore ((that) he may not take) - negative subjunctive present.
 (kudzimara) akasatora - negative subjunctive past.
 ((until) he did not take)
 Ngasatore (Let him not take) - negative hortative.

In Ka. the formative for the negative subjunctive and hortative is -si-.³

1. In the translations the nearest English equivalent is given even though it be somewhat inadequate to render the Shona form.
2. Op. Venda usongoitsa (don't do it) < usa + unga + uita, where -so- also results from the coalescence of -sa- and the infinitive prefix.
3. In some forms of Ka. the negative subjunctive present appears with formative -sa- and terminative -a.
 e.g. Kuti ndisada musikana uyu kupfupura imi (so that I may not love this girl more than you).

542. -sa- is the formative for the negative imperative.

e.g. usatora! (do not take!) - negative imperative.

543. -sa- is the formative for the negative infinitive.

e.g. kusatora (to not take) - negative infinitive.

It is also the formative for the negative stem when this is used as complement.

e.g. ndingasatora (I would not take) - negative potential present.

Note that the formative for the progressive implication, viz. -ca-, becomes -sa- in the negative participial.

e.g. ndisisatore (I no longer taking) - negative participial present progressive.

This is probably due to the assimilating influence of the negative infix -si-.

544. 3) The formative -si-.

This formative is used in the negative participial forms of the defective copulative verbs -ri (be) and -na (be).

e.g. ndisiri (I not being) - negative participial.
ndisina (I not having (been)) - negative participial.

It is also found in alternative forms of the negative indicative present indefinite and progressive of these verbs.

e.g. (handisiri (I am not) - negative indicative
(handiri (I am not) indefinite.

(handisina (I was not) - negative indicative
(handina (I was not) indefinite.

(handicisiri (I am no longer) - negative indicative progressive.
(handiciri (I am no longer)

(handicisina (I was no longer) - negative indicative progressive.
(handicina (I was no longer)

All the above forms of -ri and -na are found only with certain complements, those in -ri with adverbial, nominal and verbal complements, those in -na¹ only with verbal complements.

e.g. (with verbal complements)

Handisiri kutora (I am not taking) - negative indicative present continuous of -tora.
Handisina kutora (I did not take) - negative indicative past of -tora.

1. When na is the conjunctive adverbial formative it is found, of course, with substantives as adverbial stems e.g. nawana (with children)

e.g. ndisiri kutora (I not - negative participial present
taking) continuous of -tora.

ndisina kutora (I not - negative participial past
having taken) of -tora.

-si- also appears in the common form of the negative
participial present.

e.g. ndisigatore (I not- negative participial present
taking) of -tora.

In this form, -si- is probably functioning as the negative
participial formative of the verb -nga (probably the
copulative verb -nga/-nge (be) found in the tense
combinations), this participial, viz. ndisinga, being then
followed by the root + negative terminative, viz. -tore
(-tori in Ka. and Ma.)

545. -si- is used to form the negative participial of
the present perfect aspect of the six verbs which form this
aspect with terminative -e, a formation which occurs only
in Ze. and Ka.

e.g. ndisigere (I not being seated)	- negative participial present perfect.
op.ndigere (I being seated)	- positive participial present perfect.
asirere (He not being asleep)	- negative participial present perfect.
cp.arere (he being asleep)	- positive participial present perfect.

546. -si- is found also as the negative formative of
the participial present progressive.

e.g. ndisisatore (I no longer taking)	- negative participial present progressive.
(ndisisiri (I no longer being)	- negative participial present progressive.
(ndicisiri	

547. -si- is the negative subjunctive present
formative and the negative hortative formative in Ka.

e.g. (kuti) ndisitori ((that) I take not)	- negative subjunctive present.
ngandisitori (let me not take)	- negative hortative.

548. 11) Formatives of mood.

1) The potential formative -nga-.

This formative is used to form the positive and negative potential.

e.g. Ndingatore¹ (I can take) - positive potential.
Handingatore (I cannot take) - negative potential.

The same formative is found in the relative and participial² forms of the potential.

e.g. munhu angatore (a person who can take) - positive potential relative.
munhu asingatore (a person who cannot take) - negative potential relative.
kana asingatore (if he does not take) - negative potential participial.

The formative -nga- is, very probably, a deficient verb meaning 'be able', possibly originally the same as the copulative verb -nga (be). Thus the potential is, very likely, a compound predicate of form: deficient verb + verb stem (the terminative -e of Ze. being just a dialectal variant of the more widespread terminative -a). Evidence for this analysis is found in the alternative negative potential form ndingasatora (I would not take) in which the complement to the deficient verb is the negative stem.

e.g. Ukandituma ndingasaenda ndicimanyira here? (If you send me, wouldn't I go running?)

549. 2) The participial formatives.

The formative -oi- is the formative for the positive participial present save in the case of the defective verb -ri.

e.g. ndicitora (I taking) - positive participial present.
but tiri kumba (we being at home) - positive participial present.

550. A formative -i- is sometimes found in the participial of

1. The terminative for the positive potential in Ka. and Ma. is -a : for the negative, it is -i.
2. Cf. fn.2 par. 579.

personal copulatives formed with conjunctive adverbial stems.

e.g. kana muinaco (if you have it)

Kwakanga kuinesango guru (There was a big piece of bush)

551. 3) The subjunctive formative -ka-.

-ka- is used to form the past subjunctive.

e.g. akatora (and he took) - positive subjunctive past.
akasatora (and he took- negative subjunctive past.
not)

Hapana anodya sadza iri akaripedza (There is no one who eats this porridge and finishes it, lit. so that he finished it).

This formative is, very probably, a deficient verb meaning 'go'.¹ Thus the past subjunctive is, very likely, a compound predicate of form: deficient verb + verb stem, positive or negative.

552. 4) The hortative formatives.

The hortative formatives are the prefixal nga- and ha-.²

These are prefixed to the subjunctive, positive or negative.

e.g. nganditore (let me take) - positive hortative.
ngandisatore (let me not - negative hortative.
take)
ngandisitori (let me - negative hortative.
not take) Ka.
hatitore (let us take) - positive hortative.
hatisatore (let us not - negative hortative.
take)

nga- may be the same deficient verb as in the potential, here used in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive expressing a consecutive order.³

553. 5) The imperative formative.

The formative i-, called elsewhere the epenthetic i-, is prefixed to imperatives of monosyllabic verb stem, both in the singular and the plural.

e.g. ibva! (go away!) - positive imperative.
ibvayi! (go away - ye!) positive imperative.

1. Cf. Meinhof-v. Warmelo, Bantu Phonology, p.197, entry -ka. Ashton, Swahili Grammar, p. 133.

Price, Elements of Nyanja, part 11, p. 190.

2. The negative prefixal formative ha- is low in tone, the hortative prefixal formative nga- is high.

3. Cf. the Nguni kha-, the Sotho ha- or a- and the Venda a-, all hortative formatives followed by the subjunctive. In Sotho, the deficient verb -ka (which corresponds to the Shona -nga) governs a subjunctive when itself in the present subjunctive with imperative function.

e.g. u ke u sebetse (work!) Cf. Paroz. Elements of Southern Sotho, p. 188.

554. 6) The infinitive prefix.

The infinitive prefix ku- may be listed among the formatives of mood. It is joined to the verb stem thus forming a verbal noun of class 15.

e.g. kutora (to take) - positive infinitive.

kusatora (to not take) - negative infinitive.

The terminatives of deficient verbs frequently coalesce with the vowel of this prefix, the intervening consonant being elided.

e.g. ndinowanzotora (I usually take) < ndina + kuwanza + kutora.

555. 111) Formatives of tense.

1) The recent past formative -a.

The vowel -a is the vowel characteristic of the subject concords of the past tenses.

e.g. ndatora (I took) - positive indicative recent past.

ndakatora (I took) - positive indicative non-recent past.

-a is probably the remnant of a deficient verb which has coalesced with the basic subject concords to form the past concords we have today.

556. 2) The non-recent past formative -ka-.

-ka- is the formative for non-recent past time.

e.g. ndakatora (I took) - positive indicative non-recent past.

handisakatora (I took not) - negative indicative non-recent past.

-ka- is probably the same deficient verb as that used in the past subjunctive. Thus these forms are very likely, compound predicates of form: deficient verb + verb stem. In the negative forms it is the deficient verb which is negated, not the stem.

e.g. handisakatora (I took not) - negative indicative non-recent past.

cp. ndikasatora (if I take) - negative subjunctive past.

557. 3) The future tense formative -ca-.

e.g. ndicatora (I shall take) - positive indicative future.

handicatora (I shall not take) - negative indicative future.

In Ka. and Ma. the terminative of the negative future is -i. In Ze. -ca- acts like a deficient verb, itself in the negative, and followed by a verb stem with unaltered terminative.

558. 1v) The formatives of implication.

1) The present exclusive formative -o.

The vowel -o is the vowel characteristic of the subject concords of the present exclusive.

e.g. ndotora (I now take)¹ - positive indicative present exclusive.

ndosatora? (am I not to take?) - negative indicative present exclusive.

1. I think that the above is the most satisfactory description of this form but there is much evidence for the view that it is a subjunctive. The evidence for this latter view is as follows:

- 1) The subject concord is uniformly high for all persons, as in the subjunctive.
- 1i) The negative is not formed by prefixal formative ha-, as with indicatives, but with infixal formative -sa-.
- 1ii) The use of this form in deliberative interrogation is very similar to that of the subjunctive.
- iv) This form is frequently used in consecutive narrative - a use reminiscent of the subjunctive as used in Nguni and Sotho.

e.g. Uakaona mhembe yakafa vakagopembera kwazo vacitenda mbada ndokutakura mhukayo voenda nayo kumusha (She saw that the duiker was dead and she rejoiced much thanking the leopard and she took up that animal and then went with it to the village).

- v) It is occasionally used as complement after the deficient verb -dzimara (end by) both in the latter's non-conjunctive and conjunctive uses.

e.g. Wakazodzimara oenda oga ondoteterera (He came to end up by going alone and went and persuaded; viz. At last he went alone to persuade).

In support of the view that this is an indicative formative (used also in the participial and relative) one may argue:

- 1) The high tone of the concords may be due to the high tone of a deficient verb which has coalesced with the basic concord. The exclusive form would then be compound. This would partly explain why the negative is formed by infix -
e.g. ndosapindia here? (am I not to enter?) - viz. that the exclusive concord is really made up of a basic subject concord + a deficient verb and that this compound is followed by a negative stem, the negative form of the normal complement which is the verb stem.

Footnote from the previous page (continued).

- ii. There is no reason why the exclusive should not be used in deliberative interrogation or in consecutive narrative.
- iii. The deficient verb -dzimara also takes a perfect complement on occasion, when the idea to be brought out is of a result and not of an aim.
e.g. kudzimara ndasika (until I have arrived)
cp. kudzimara ndisike (until I arrive).
- iv. Further this form is found in the participial and in the relative moods (in the latter, when of direct relation, with subject concord of low tone). This seems to show that this form is basically indicative, the positive participial and the positive relative being based on the indicative.

e.g. Positive.

Indicative: Kana ndarima, ndosakura (When I have ploughed, I then weed).

Participial: Ndakanga ndoda (I was then wanting).

Relative: Ndiye woda kupedza (It is he who now wants to finish).

Negative.

Indicative: Handingoti kana ndarima, ndosasakura (I do not usually not weed when I have ploughed).

Participial: Ndakanga ndosada (I was not then wanting).

- v. The present exclusive is used, however, without change of form in constructions normally requiring the present subjunctive, e.g. after the conjunctive kuti (in order that) in a final clause.

e.g. Ndiri kuitira kuti, kana ndarima, ndosakura
(I am so acting that, when I have ploughed, I may then weed).
Ndiri kuitira kuti, kana ndafa, osazogara nhaka
(I am so acting that, when I am dead, he may not then inherit).

However, the reason why the exclusive appears in the subjunctive without change of form lies again in the compound character of the form. The exclusive concord ndo- contains a deficient verb and it is this which is in the subjunctive. That this very contracted deficient verb contained in the vowel o shows no formal sign of being in the subjunctive causes no difficulty to the Shona speaker who is constantly using deficient verbs ending in -o (due to coalescence of terminative with the vowel -u- of the infinitive prefix) in the subjunctive, similarly without distinctive subjunctive terminative, this having disappeared in the coalescence.

e.g. kuti ndizodzokera kumba (so that I may come to return home)

Here ndizodzokera < ndize + kudzokera.

559. 2) The exclusive formative ci-.

This formative is found in all moods. It is even found with the present exclusive in -o-.

e.g. in infinitive complements:

Uri kucitinetsa (You are annoying us now).

in the imperative:

Cirindayi vasekuru (Sleep now, grandfather).

in the subjunctive:

Zakanaka kuti kudimurwa kwemombe kuciregerwa¹ (It is good that the decimation of cattle should now stop).

in the hortative:

Ngaticienda zedu² (Let us now go).

in the indicative present exclusive:

Kana yaora, ndocindodya mombe yangu (When it is rotten, I then go and eat my head-of-cattle).

560. 3) The progressive formative -ca-

This formative is used to form the progressive implication of all verbs save -ri-.

e.g. ndicatora (I still - positive indicative present take) progressive.

acakanaka (he is - positive indicative present still good) progressive perfect.

handicatora (I no - negative indicative present longer take) progressive.

haucakanaka (you are- negative indicative present no longer good) progressive perfect.

vasingacapindi (they- negative participial present no longer entering) progressive.

musikacambouoneki - negative participial present (it (an interior) being no longer at all progressive of the visible deficient verb -mba).

The formative -ca- becomes -sa- in the negative participial,

e.g. ndisisatore (I no - negative participial present longer taking) progressive.

561. 4) The progressive formative -ci-.

This is the formative for the progressive implication of

1. Note how the formative -ci- absorbs the terminative of the subjunctive as if it were a deficient verb - as of course it may very well be.
2. Note how the formative -ci- has absorbed the terminative -e of the hortative.

the verb -ri (be) and of the perfect aspect of the six verbs which form the perfect aspect with terminative -e.

- e.g. ndiciri (I still am) - positive indicative present progressive of -ri.
ndiciri kutora (I am still taking) - positive indicative present progressive continuous of -tora, with -ri used as a deficient verb.

In the negative, the formative -ci- is sometimes found as -si-.

- e.g. Handisisiri kutora) - negative indicative
Handicisiri kutora) (I present progressive
am no longer taking) continuous of -tora.

The progressive implication of the six verbs -gara, -mira etc.:

- e.g. ndicigere (I am still seated) - positive indicative present progressive perfect.

552. v) The formatives of aspect.

1) The perfect aspect formatives -a, -ka-.

The perfect aspect is the same in form as the recent and non-recent past tenses. The perfect aspect with recent past form indicates a state which is the result of recent action.

- e.g. ndaguta (I am replete) - positive indicative present perfect.

That of non-recent past form indicates a state without reference to the time it was entered upon or a state which is the result of non-recent past action.

- e.g. ndakakora (I am fat) - positive indicative present perfect.

These aspects are most often found in the case of inchoative verb stems, e.g. -guta (become replete), -kora (become fat). But they are not restricted to inchoative stems. Non-inchoative verb stems are often found in the perfect aspect, particularly in that of recent past form and in the participial.

- e.g. kana ndasika (when I have arrived) - positive participial present perfect.
tsuro ndokuramba kakabatwa (and the hare remained being bound).
kakabatwa - positive participial present perfect. (non-recent past form).

563. 2) The continuous aspect.

The continuous aspect is compound in form and consists of the positive or negative indicative present of the verb -ri (be) with full infinitive complement.

e.g. ndiri kutora (I am taking) - positive indicative present continuous.

564. vi) The mode formatives.

1) The present habitual formative -no-.¹

The formative -no- is used to form the present habitual.

e.g. ndinotora (I take) - positive indicative present habitual.

In some Ze. dialects, e.g. in Zwimba Reserve, this formative becomes -ne- before verb stems commencing in -e or -i.²

e.g. ndineenda (I go)
ndineita (I do)

In Ze. and Ka. -no-, in common with other deficient verbs which incorporate contracted prefixes, undergoes assimilation when used with -nge (seem, be), vowel o becoming e.

e.g. unenge senzi (you seem a fool).

-no- is probably derived from the copulative verb -na³ (be) the terminative of which has coalesced with

1. In Ma. this formative often appears as -ngo-
e.g. ndingotora (I take).
2. Cf. the further assimilation of -no- to -na- before object concord -a-, and of -no- to -ne- before object concord -i- reported in Doke, Shona Phonetics, par.402.
3. -na may be an independent copulative verb or it may be the conjunctive adverbial formative na- (with) functioning as a copulative verb.

Compare the two forms: ndinofara (I am happy)
ndinokufara (I am with happiness, I have happiness).

In the first form, -no- functions as a verbal formative of the habitual mode and is formed from -na + contracted infinitive prefix.

In the second form, -no- is a conjunctive adverbial formative in the adverbial nokufara (with happiness) which here functions as a copulative stem. It is formed from na- due to the vowel -a- of na- coalescing with the latent initial vowel of the class 15 noun kufara.

Cf. the Swahili present tense formative -na-. When used with monosyllabic verb complements, it is followed by an infinitive; but when used with non-monosyllabic verb complements, it is followed by the simple stem.

e.g. ninakula (I am eating) cp. kula (to eat)
ninataka (I am wanting) cp. kutaka (to want)

Cf. Ashton, Swahili Grammar, p. 35-7.

the vowel of a succeeding infinitive complement, the consonant of the prefix being elided. Thus -na + ku -no-.

555. 2) The past habitual formative -i-.

For the past, the formative used for the habitual is -i-.

e.g. ndaitora (I used to - positive indicative past
take) habitual.
handaitora (I used - negative indicative past
not to take) habitual.

This formative, too, is probably the remnant of a fuller deficient verb. Marconnès argues for its derivation from -ri (be)¹. This is confirmed by the alternative form of the negative, ndaisatora (I used not to take) in which the subject concord + deficient verb ndai- take a negative stem as complement.

556. 3) The formative -ci- of frequent action.

The formative -ci- has appeared as a formative for the present participial, the progressive implication and the exclusive implication. It has a further use with habitual forms in indicating frequent action.

-with the present habitual.

With the present habitual, the use of this formative seems to result in a form referring to the recent past.

e.g. ndinociendako (I used frequently to go there)

The time referred to is the recent past but does not exclude the present. It is still part of what the agent frequently does. In interrogative sentences it is the present time of this habitual action which is stressed.

e.g. Nayi, amai, riva, rinociSuka kaviri here? (Tell me, mother, does a trap usually fall twice?)

-with the past habitual.

e.g. ndaicitora (I used frequently to take)
- positive indicative past habitual.
Rimne zuca wakashika naparonda paicicerwa naamai
wake vaciumbisa hari (One day he arrived at a clay
pit which used frequently to be dug by his mother
as she was moulding pots).

The habitual action indicated here is a thing of the past.

In Ka. this formative often appears as -si-. Cf. Louw, p.80,(7).

1. Cf. Ashton, Swahili Grammar, p. 37: The LI tense referring to verbal activity in the past.

e.g. (nilisoma jana (I read yesterday)
(nalisoma jana (I read yesterday)

567. Among the formatives which have been listed above have appeared several which are, in all probability, deficient verbs, e.g. -qga- (of the potential)

-ka- (of past time)

-no- (of the habitual)

These formatives have become specialised in function, being limited to a particular mood, tense, aspect etc. They have also become stereotyped and often contracted in form, and are usually unaffected by the inflexional requirements of the negative conjugations and the moods, so that it is their character of mood or tense formatives which impresses us today. While allowing for their verbal character and origin, and while recognising that it is often precisely this that serves to explain peculiarities of behaviour of the total compound forms in which they serve as formatives, it is, none the less, proposed to employ these formatives derived from deficient verbs as part of the ordinary mechanism of the conjugation of the verb into the categories outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Their specialised function and stereotyped form contrasts with the large class of deficient verbs to be dealt with in the following chapter which are themselves usually fully conjugated. The very contracted form of complement - usually the verb stem, positive and negative - found with these derived formatives should also be contrasted with the fuller complements of the deficient verbs not so intimately bound up with the conjugational categories which have been singled out here.

568. 2) The suffixal formatives.

a) The terminatives.

The derivative suffixes which replace the terminative -a have

already been discussed in the treatment of the verb stem. Here the inflexion of terminatives is dealt with as part of the mechanism of conjugation.

569. 1) The terminative -a¹.

This is the terminative found in the following forms:

- the positive and negative infinitive;
- the positive and negative imperative, save when the positive incorporates an object concord;
- the positive indicative, relative and participial tenses save the perfect aspects of the six verbs -gara, -mira etc.;
- the negative indicative, relative and participial past and (in Ze.) future tenses;
- the positive potential in Ka. and Ma.

570. ii) The terminative -e.

This is the terminative used in the following cases:

- the negative indicative, relative and participial present in Ze.;
- the positive and negative potential in Ze;
- the positive subjunctive in all dialect groups and the negative subjunctive and hortative in Ze. and Ma.
- the positive imperative when incorporating an object concord.

571. iii) The terminative -i.

This is the terminative found in the following cases:

- the negative indicative, participial and relative present in Ka. and Ma.
- the negative subjunctive² and hortative in Ka.
- the negative potential in Ka. and Ma.

1. The verb stems -ri (be), -nga/-nge (seem, be), and -ti (say, do) with its compounds, are exceptions to all these rules being uninflected in terminative.

2. Some forms of Ka. retain -a in the negative subjunctive present and in the negative hortative.

572. In cases of compound predicates in which the complement is an infinitive with contracted prefix, there is no sign of the terminatives of the negative, subjunctive and potential when the compound predicate is in the negative conjugation or the subjunctive or potential mood. This is because the conjugation affects the deficient verb, and since the terminative of the deficient verb is merged into the contraction of terminative + infinitive prefix, there is thus no sign of the characteristic negative or modal terminatives.¹

e.g. Negative present:

Handizoenda (I come not to go, I will not go)
< Handize + kuenda.

Positive potential:

Ndingazoenda (I can come to go, I can then go)
< Ndingaze + kuenda.

Positive subjunctive:

(kuti) uzotenga (so that you may come to buy)
< uze + kutenga.

The formatives -ci- (of the exclusive implication) and -ca- (of the progressive implication and of the future tense) have the same effect in Ze.

e.g. Hortative exclusive:

Haticienda (Let us go now)

Negative future:

Haticienda (We will not go)

cp. Haticaindi (We will not go) Ka.

1. There is some variation here among the dialect-groups. In Ka. and Ma., the deficient verb + contracted infinitive construction notwithstanding, the negative terminative -i usually appears at the end of the compound predicate. e.g. Handizovuyi ((I will not come). It is as if the deficient verb is being treated as a mere formative and not a deficient verb capable itself of conjugation. But in the subjunctive the terminative -e does not appear, being absorbed, as in Ze., in the terminative of the deficient verb. e.g. kuti andobata (so that he may go and catch).

573 b) The other suffixal formatives.

1) The negative suffix -ḡa.

This formative is used widely in Ma. and, to some extent, in Ze., in an interjective capacity. But in some forms of Ma. it is a negative formative.

e.g. ndadyaḡa (I did not eat)

cp. ndadya (I ate)

574. 11) The plural suffix -yi.

This is the formative for the plural imperative. It also appears in plural hortatives and as the second part of the 2nd. person plural object concord in Ze. and Ka. In Ma. this suffix appears as -nyi.

e.g. torayi! (take ye!) - plural imperative.

hatitoreyi (let us take) - plural hortative.

kukutorayi (to take you (pl.))

575 II. The basic conjugation of the verb.

In this section the conjugation of the verb is presented synthetically according to the categories described at the beginning of the chapter. In addition, some account of the uses of the various forms is given. Since the phenomenon of the compound predicate - that predicate into the composition of which more than one verb stem enters - is found even in the simplest Shona verb forms, it is impossible to set out a satisfactory scheme of the conjugation in terms of underived formatives and verb stem. I have already included what I call derived formatives among the conjugational formatives listed above, viz. those formatives now closely connected with one or other conjugational form for which there is reason to believe that they are derived from verbs. The forms in which these formatives occur are, strictly speaking, compound and embody two verb stems.

In addition to these two kinds of formative, I find it necessary to use certain compound predicates employing deficient verbs as such. Only thus can a reasonably

full scheme of the conjugation be set out. Thus there are employed in this scheme of conjugation:

- 1) underived formatives;
- 11) derived formatives;
- 111) deficient verbs forming compound predicates with their complements.

The derived formatives are usually followed by the verb stem but, in one case, viz. that of the formative -no-, the prefix of the complementary infinitive is included in a contracted form in the formative itself, copulative verb -na + ku- > -no-.

The deficient verbs employed in the conjugation are of two types:

- 1) those that take an infinitive complement; e.g. -ri (be),
 - and 11) those that take a participial complement; e.g. -nga (be)
- The deficient nature of these verbs will be explained in the following chapter which deals explicitly with the subject. The construction involving deficient verbs and complements is not confined to these verbs but extends to many others.

576. 1) The infinitive.

Definition: "The infinitive is that form of the verb which simply names the action without predicating it of a subject, being itself a noun with certain features of the verb, especially that of taking an object and adverbial qualifiers".¹

577. The infinitive is formed by prefixing ku- to the verb stem. This may be either positive or, with the infix -sa-, negative.

e.g. kutora (to take)
kusatora (to not take)

The concept 'not to take' may be rendered by using the interjective kwete (no) with the positive infinitive.

e.g. Danotanga kuḥaya kwazo, kwete kurova asi kuḥaya nokuuraya (They begin to stab hard, not to hit but to stab and to kill).

1. Webster, quoted in Doke, Lamba, par. 409.

578. The infinitive is both nominal and verbal in form and function. In form, it is nominal in being composed of noun prefix and stem; it is verbal in assuming verbal formatives and object concords. In function, it is nominal in governing the full range of concords as well as having derived pronominal forms referring to it. Like other nouns the infinitive may function as subject or object, be qualified, act as the stem of a qualificative, function adverbially and act as the stem of an adverbial.¹ It is also verbal in function since it may be modified by adverbials and be used with an object or objects, nominal, pronominal or concordial. The infinitive being thus both nominal and verbal has a very large range of uses.

579. Examples of the nominal functions:

the infinitive as subject:

e.g. Kufamba kunonakidza (Walking is pleasant).

Kuwakokorodza kwakatora nguwa ndefu (To summon them took a long time).

the infinitive as object:

e.g. diro rakavamba kushatirwa (The baboon began to be angry)

Haalite kudaro (He does not do like that).

Oakamuudza kurwara kwaŋaŋa wake (They told him about the sickness of his father).

the infinitive as qualificate:

e.g. Kukora kukuru (Great stoutness).

Kuuya kwake (His coming).

the infinitive as adverbial stem:

e.g. Wauya nokucimbizika (He came with speed; lit. with to hurry).

the infinitive as possessive stem:

e.g. munhu wokusatenda (an ungrateful person).

The infinitive with adverbial function:

e.g. Jembere rinononoka kupinda mudanga (The big old woman is slow in entering the cattle-kraal).

Zakasika asi Gere rakakoniwa kudarikira rutsito (They arrived but the hyena was worsted in jumping over the fence).

1. Cf. Marconnes, par. 257 b.

Kufunda kwao kwose, vanotoverenga miromo neminwe
(As for all their education, they just read lips
and fingers).

Kufara tiri kufara zedu, asi cinhu cime cete catisina
mgana (As for happiness we are happy, but the
one thing which we have not is a child).¹

Kutamba vanotamba asi hazinakidze (As for dancing they
dance but it does not please).

Kuda ndinoda, kurambidzwa cete ndiko kwandinoitwa
(As for wanting I want, being forbidden only is
what is done to me; viz. I am keen enough, it
is only that I am forbidden).

Kufamba ndafamba asi kuneta ndiko kwandaita (As for
walking I walked but being tired is what I did;
viz. I walked indeed but I got tired).

580. Examples of the verbal functions:

the infinitive with an object - nominal, pronominal
and concordial:

e.g. kuŋatsira varombe (to help the poor)

kuŋatsira ava (to help these ones)

kuŋatsira (to help them)

the infinitive with adverbial:

e.g. kutaŋura kaviŋi (to speak twice)

kutaŋura zakanaka (to speak well)

A further verbal function of the infinitive is that it
serves as complement in compound predicates made up of
deficient verb + infinitive. The infinitive in these
compound predicates may be uncontracted or be with
contracted prefix, the vowel of the prefix having
coalesced with the terminative of the deficient verb and
the consonant of the prefix having been elided.

e.g. infinitive complement with uncontracted prefix:

ndiri kutora (I am taking).

e.g. infinitive with contracted prefix:

ndazotora (I came to take).

1. The last four examples in this section are examples of
what Doke has called the emphatic infinitive. Cf.
Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.126, entry: Infinitive.

Cf. Ashton, Swahili Grammar, p. 278.11.

581 The infinitive is used as the form of the predicate after verbs of wishing, striving or otherwise indicative of aim or purpose, where the subject of the subordinate predicate is the same as that of the principal.¹

e.g. *Uakada kuenda kundomuona* (They wanted to go to (go and) see him).

Ndiri kuapara kufika zupa risati radoka (I am trying to cook before sunset).

Kwakanga kwauya Kataora kuzomushayira (There had come Kataora to come and visit him).

Danofanira kusakanganwa (They ought to not forget).

582. The infinitive is often used with the copulative with abbreviated class 15 absolute pronominal stem ndo (ndiko), or with the conjunctive formative na-, in relating a series of actions in consecutive narrative style. Of these two forms, ndo is used with reference to past time, na- with reference to any time.

e.g. *Ava mangwana Cinzenga-mutsairo wakaenda zakare kunosebenza kumurimi ndo kupiwa mafuta omukaka pabasa rake* (The next day Dodge-broom went again to go and work for a farmer and he was given butter at his work).

Kuzoti ava mauro Cinzenga-mutsairo wakatora mafuta nokuatakura pamusoro wake nokuenda kumusha (When it was evening Dodge-broom took the butter and put it on his head and went home).

Ndicaenda Harare nokupinda citoro nokutenga hembe (I will go to Salisbury and enter a store and buy a shirt).

Imbga dzake dzakapinda muṣako kundoruma mbira, iye ndokupindawo (His dogs entered a cave to go and bite dassies, and he entered also).

583. Many conjunctives consist of infinitives:

e.g. *kuti* (to say, to do; as a conjunctive: when, in order that, to the effect that, because)

1. Cf. Doke, *Lamba*, par. 416.

kunge (to be, to seem: as a conjunctive: if)
kuwana (to find: as a conjunctive: if)
kudzimara (to end by: as a conjunctive: until)
kuwe (to become: as a conjunctive: since, because)
kubvira (to come from: as a conjunctive: since)

584. Notice the following expressions:

They are made up of the negative form of the copulative verb -ri (be) and an infinitive with adverbial function.

Havasiri vanhu kuwanda (The people are very numerous:
lit. They are not people to be plentiful).

Haisiri mari kuwanda (It is not money to be plentiful:
viz. the money is very plentiful).

Harisiri ruwa kunaka (The flower is very beautiful).

In Ma. the negative copulative takes the place of the copulative verb.

Handiovanhu kuwanda (The people are very plentiful).

Handimari kuwanda (The money is very plentiful).

Handiruwa kunaka (The flower is very beautiful).

585. 2) The imperative.

The imperative is that form of the verb which expresses commands. Both in form and function it is both verbal and interjective. As regards the form, it is verbal in consisting of or containing a verb stem. It is interjective in consisting only of the verb stem (in the singular of non-monosyllabic verbs¹) or of the verb stem with plural suffix (in the plural of non-monosyllabic verbs). As regards function, the imperative is verbal in taking objects and in being modified by adverbials. It is interjective in being an exclamation, a function which is taken up by the extension of the imperative when this is followed by object or adverbial.

1. The monosyllabic verb stems take an epenthetic i- in the singular and plural. This, however, does not affect the argument that the imperative is functionally an interjective as well as being a verb.

586. The imperative of non-monosyllabic verbs consists of the verb stems (in the singular) or of the verb stem + plural suffix -yi (in Ma. -nyi) (in the plural). This plural may be honorific as well as of number.

e.g. tora! (take!)

torayi! (take ye!)

toranyi! (take ye!) Ma.

587. Monosyllabic verbs prefix i- to the verb stem in both the singular and the plural and in the absence of other prefixal formatives.

e.g. ipa! (give!)

ipayi! (give ye!)

lua murapi! (become a doctor!)

luayi varapi! (become doctors!)

but cindipa gumi cete! (Give me only ten now!)

Epenthetic i- may be prefixed to monosyllabic verb stems even when these are functioning as deficient verbs with an infinitive complement with contracted prefix.

e.g. Regayi kukonya; igopikayi namamge mazwi sokuti 'Gokwadi', 'Ziro-kwazo', munotenderwa (Don't curse; just swear with other words like 'Truly', 'Truth', and you will be believed).

ingondipawo! (just give me please!)

indofayi zenyu (go and die as far as you are concerned!)

588. When the imperative takes an object concord or the reflexive infix -zi-, the terminative -a > -e in both singular and plural forms.

e.g. mupe! (give him!)

ndinzweyi! (listen ye to me!)

zigadzireyi! (prepare yourselves!)

589. An imperative of exclusive implication is formed with the formative ci-. When this is prefixed to an imperative with object concord, the terminative reverts to -a.

e.g. ciuya kuno ! (come here now!)

cindipayi! (now give ye to me!)

In this, ci- behaves like a deficient verb itself in the

imperative and followed by the verb stem as complement.

cp. *dondipa!* (please give me!)

or *idondipa!* (please give me!)

590. ~~Enclitic~~ Interjectives frequently used with imperatives are peremptory or insistent *-ka!* and persuasive or conciliatory **wo!*

e.g. *inzwaka!* (listen now!)

i^hanzwayika! (listen ye now!)

n^hipe^hwo! (please give me! go on, give me!)

591. Negative commands or prohibitions are conveyed in a variety of ways. The most common method is by means of the positive imperative of the verb *-rega* (stop) followed by an infinitive.

e.g. *rega kutora!* (stop talking! don't take!)

regayi kutora! (don't ye take!)

Prohibitions are also expressed by the negative subjunctive

q.v. There exists also a negative imperative, seemingly widely used in Ka. and some Ma. This consists of the subject concord of the 2nd. person, singular or plural + the negative formative *-sa-* + the verb stem.¹

e.g. *usatora!* (don't take ye)

musatora! (don't take!)

Ze. does not employ this form widely, preferring to use the negative subjunctive, e.g. *usatore*.² The corresponding form of the negative subjunctive in Ka. viz. *usitori* does not seem to have this imperative function.

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1. In some Ka. the negative present subjunctive is of this form. Cf. *Mhuri yoMukristu*, Morgenster, 1944, *passim*.
 2. But Marconnès states: "Central Karanga sometimes uses the negation *sa* in the imperative without the negative ending, but that is exceptional and denotes a very emphatic prohibition. '*Musamutsa musoro*' ('You must not lift up your head') says the hare to the lion when he is going to set a rock rolling down the hill to crush him". Cf. Marconnès, par. 325.

592. Commands subsequent to an initial imperative are rendered in the present subjunctive. These may be either positive or negative.

e.g. uyayi mumusunge! (come and bind him!)

uyayi musanonoke! (come and don't dally!)

593. Indirect commands may be rendered directly in Shona by imperatives introduced by a form of the verbs kunzi (to be said), or kuti (to say).

e.g. Darwi vakanzi 'Rwisayi!' (The warriors were told 'Fight!')

Kdakanzi naṣaṣa 'Buda mumba' (I was told by father 'Leave the room').

Murume akarayidzwa (kunzi 'siya imba yako'.
(kuti asiye imba yake (The man was told to leave his house).

594. 3. The indicative mood.

The indicative mood presents the relation between the subject and the verb as an actual one, whether the time referred to, in which the action or state expressed by the verb takes place, is past, present or future. It is in the indicative mood, and the relative and participial forms of the indicative, that the division into tenses, implications, aspects and modes is most complete.

The material in this mood is treated according to the following categories:

A. The incidental mode - the tenses and their implications and aspects.

B. The habitual mode - the tenses and their implications and aspects.

C. The tense combinations - in both incidental and habitual modes.

Both positive and negative forms are given together in each category so that these two conjugations are presented together.

595. A. The incidental mode.¹

1. Cf. par. 695 for a table of indicative present forms.

a) The present tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndinotora (I take)

This form consists of the basic concord + derived formative -no- + verb stem.

It refers to the present period rather than to the present moment and can extend even to the future. The same form is used in the habitual mode, to express habitual actions.

e.g. (This form is frequently met in newspaper reports of current events)

Tinoona kuti zinodikanwa izi (We see that these things are necessary).

Ndinonyora izi nomoyo unoramba ucirangarira nebasa rakaitwa nao (I write these things with a heart which keeps reflecting on the work which was done by them).

Izi zinorakidza kuti nyika iri kufambira mberi (These things show that the country is going forward).

Tinokumbira kuti zinu zakataurwa naba zinyorwe; zinu zavo zakaŋaya moyo caizo (We ask that the things which were spoken by father should be written; his things (viz. topics) pierced the heart indeed).

Negative: handitore (I take not)

This form consists of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the basic concord + verb root + terminative -e, or, in Ka. and Ma., terminative -i.

e.g. dawa wakati: "Kukwira ndinogona asi kuomera huci handigone" (The night-jar said: "To climb I am able but to extract honey I am not able").

Handifunge kudaro (I don't think so).

Handizizwe izi (I don't know these things).

"Unoona here vanhu vari kokoko" "Kwete, handipaone"
("Do you see the people who are over yonder?" "No, I don't see them").

596.

2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiri kutora (I am taking)

This form consists of the present simple of the verb -ri, viz. the basic concord + -ri, + infinitive complement.

It refers to what is actually taking place at the present moment. With the continuous idea there is often

coupled that of being a particular instance. In this, the continuous contrasts with the indefinite which is more general.

e.g. Ari kunwa (He is drinking).

cp. Anonwa (He drinks)

Imbga iri kuhukura (The dog is barking).

Imba iri kubakirwa (The house is being built).

Uakomana navasikana vari kutamba (The boys and girls are dancing).

Negative: handiri kutora (I am not taking)

This form consists of the negative prefixal formative + the positive form.

e.g. Handiri kuuya (I am not coming).

Haari kushamba maoko (He is not washing his hands).

Handiri kunzwisisisa (I am not understanding well).

597. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndaneta (I am tired)

ndakakora (I am fat)

ndauya (I am come)

The perfect aspect consists of the past concord + verb stem, or of the past concord + formative -ka + verb stem.

The perfect aspect indicates a completed state in present time. Inchoative verb stems, viz. those verb stems which include the idea of process or becoming in their meaning, are most often found in this aspect. Examples of inchoative verb stems are:

-neta (become tired)

~~un~~ -guta (become replete)

When these verbs are used with the formatives of the past tenses, they refer to present time, perfect aspect, it being implied that what is past is the antecedent process of reaching the state, and what is present is the state arrived at as a result of the process.

e.g. ndaneta (I am tired - having been through the process of becoming tired)

ndaguta (I am replete - having been through the process of becoming so)

598. In this aspect, when the formative of the recent past tense is used, the state is presented as the result of recent action. This is the case in the examples just given. Where the formatives of the non-recent past are used, the perfect aspect is presented either as a result of non-recent action, or else the perfect aspect prescind from the actual time when the process took place and "presents the state, not so much as resultant, as existing"¹. Here the semantic factor enters. States which require a recent cause in time are usually found in the recent past form,

e.g. ndaneta (I am tired).

But in the case of inchoative verbs referring to more enduring conditions and states, we find the non-recent past form used.

e.g. ndakakora (I am fat)
Uakanaka (they are good)
ukaipa (they are evil)

In the case of non-inchoative verbs, the recent past form is frequently present perfect in function. Thus while the form ndauya may mean 'I came', especially when there is an attendant descriptive,

e.g. ndauya mangwanani (I came this morning)

it may also mean 'I am come'.² The perfect aspect of non-inchoative verbs is found, however, less often in the indicative than in the participial.

e.g. Kana ndauya (When I have come, when I am come).

599. The following compound form should be noticed:

viz. ndava kutora (I am (in the state of) taking)

The verb -va (become) is an inchoative verb. When in the perfect aspect, and when followed by an infinitive complement, it provides a perfect aspect of action as contrasted with the above perfect aspects of state.

e.g. Sarayi zenyu, tava kuenda zedu (Remain ye for your part, (viz. Goodbye) we are in the state of going for our part).

This form has a certain exclusive nuance about it. Thus, e.g.,

1. Cf. the writer's Conjugation of inchoative verbs in Shona, African Studies, Vol. 8 No. 3, September 1949, p.132.

2. Cp. Price, Elements of Nyanja, p. 63-4.

in the example given, the party which has been on a visit, having overcome the obstacles preventing them from going, e.g. the importunity of the host, inertia, polite reluctance to leave etc., are now in the new state of going.

600. In Ze. and Ka. six verbs form the present perfect by change of terminative -a to -e. In addition to this change of terminative, the vowel a, which is the root vowel of five of the verbs, is assimilated to e.

e.g. <u>ndirere</u> (I am asleep)	cp. <u>-rara</u> (go to sleep)
<u>ndivete</u> (I am asleep)	<u>-vata</u> (go to sleep)
<u>ruzere</u> (it, e.g. the river, is full)	<u>-zara</u> (get full)
<u>ndigere</u> (I am seated)	<u>-gara</u> (become seated)
<u>ndinyerere</u> (I am silent)	<u>-nyarara</u> (become silent)

In the following example there is no assimilation:

ndimire (I am standing) -mira (to stand up)

-gara has a form in the passive species in this aspect.

e.g. Muti ugerwe negodzi rinokara (The tree is perched on by a fierce hawk)

Musha ugerwe nawanhu (The village is inhabited by people)!

601. The negative forms of the above perfect aspects are as follows:

<u>handaneta</u> (I am not tired)	or	<u>handisaneta</u>
<u>handakakora</u> (I am not fat)		<u>handisakakora</u>
<u>handauya</u> (I have not come)		<u>handisauya</u>

The forms are composed of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive form or the negative prefixal formative ha- + the basic concord + the negative infix -sa- (in Ka. it is usually -za-) + the verb stem.

A more common form in Ze. is the following compound predicate which prescind from recent or non-recent time. It is composed of the simple negative present of the verb -na² + infinitive complement.

e.g. Handina kuneta (I am not tired)
Handina kukora (I am not fat)

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 265. In Ma. the non-recent past forms are used for the perfect aspect of these verbs. e.g. ndakagara (I am seated).
2. Another explanation of this form is that it is the negative of the personal copulative with conjunctive adverbial stem, ndinokuneta (I am with tiredness, I have tiredness). The negative, handina-kuneta (I have not tiredness) is found as handine-kuneta in Ma. on occasion. Cf. Buck, p.xxiv.

Other negative perfects are:

handava kutora (I am not (in the state of) taking)

(negative of the perfect aspect of action, viz. the negative formative ha- + the positive form)

handigere (I am not seated)

(negative of the perfect aspect of the verbs forming this aspect by change of terminative, viz. the negative formative ha- + the positive form).

602. Examples of the perfect aspect:

Tarisayi tava nenhamo yokushaya nyama panguva ino. Ko, kutoti nguva icauya? (Look ye, we are in the plight of being without meat at this time. Tell me, what about the time which will come?).

Ndafa nenzara (I am very hungry).

Takataza asi zino tapfida (We sinned but now we are sorry).

Singa rehuni rimpe cete rasara (Only one bundle of wood remains).

Sheveda vose, sadza rakâora (Call all, the porridge is thick).

Huni dzapera, tsaga dzimpe (The wood is finished, look for more).

Mvura yose yapxa; ngatiteke parwizi (All the water is evaporated; let us draw at the river).

Oacena vakagwara kupinda isu (The whites are more clever than we).

Pakakwirira (Here is elevated).

Pakatunhumara (Here is hilly).

Tsika idzi dzakaipa (These customs are bad).

603. 11) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicatora (I still take)

This form consists of the basic concord + progressive formative -ca- + verb stem.

Negative: handicatora (I no longer take).

This form consists, in Ze., of the negative prefixal formative + the positive, but in Ka. and Ma. it consists of the negative formative + basic concord + formative -ca- + the verbal root + the terminative -i.

e.g. handicatori (I no longer take)

The same forms are found indicating future time.

e.g. ndicatora (I will take)
handicatora (I will not take)

While the future function is distinct from the progressive, the transition from one idea to the other is intelligible.

The positive form of the indefinite progressive is less common in Ze. than in Ka. and Ma. In Ze., while the indefinite form is common in questions and in the negative, in positive statements the continuous progressive is more commonly used.

e.g. Ucandiziba here? (Do you still know me?)

Makunguwo haacada kudzoka iye zino (The cows no longer want to return now).

Asi mmana wakabvunza aciti: "Sekuru, hamucandipiwo kudya here?" (But the child asked, saying: "Grandfather, do you no longer give me food?")

604. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiciri kutora (I am still taking)

Negative: handiciri kutora (I am no longer taking)

The positive form consists of the progressive implication of -ri + an infinitive complement. The negative prefixes ha- to the positive form.

605. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndicakaneta (I am still tired)
ndicakakora (I am still fat)

Negative: handicakaneta (I am no longer tired)
handicakakora (I am no longer fat)

The positive form is composed of basic concord + progressive formative -ca- + the formative of non-recent past time, -ka-, + the verb stem. The negative consists of the negative formative ha- + the positive form. There is no perfect aspect with merely recent past concord nor have forms applying to non-inchoative verbs been found.

An alternative and compound form of the negative perfect progressive is as follows:

handicina kuneta (I am no longer tired)

This appears also as: (handicisina kuneta
(handisisina kuneta (I am no longer tired).

The progressive of the other forms of the perfect aspect:

- of the perfect aspect of action.

Positive: ndicawe kutora (I am still (in the state of) taking)

Negative: handicawe kutora (I am no longer (in the state of) taking)

- of the perfect aspect of the verbs -gara etc:

Positive: ndicigere (I am still seated)

Negative: handicigere (I am no longer seated)

Examples of the perfect progressive.

danda ricakabata (The log still holds).

Ndicakadaro (I am still like that).

606. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndotora (I now take)

This form consists of the exclusive concord and the verb stem. A form consisting of exclusive concord + formative -ci- + verb stem also exists with equivalent meaning.

e.g. ndocitora (I now take)

The negative is compound in form consisting of the negative present perfect of the verb -ti (say, do) followed by the participial form of the positive exclusive.

Negative: handati)
handisati) ndotora (I do not yet take).
handizati (Ka.))

Examples:

Cisara zako, ini ndoenda kumusha (Goodbye now, I'm now off home).

Uakati: "Toendawo". (And they said: "We now go too").

Cindirega, ndofunda (Leave me now, I now study).

Eere kuzoti roti: 'Ndocindodya mombe yangu', rikawana yangova nzimbo cete (When the hyena said: 'Now I'm off to eat my beast', it found what was only the place).

Kana yaora, ndocindodya mombe yangu (When it is rotten, then I go to eat my beast).

Ndocifira munyika ino (Now I die in this land).

Kana mosara mowana mombe dzose, mocitora zenyu (If you remain and find my cattle - viz. If you later find my cattle - just you then take them).

507. The exclusive is often used in questions asking permission, direction, etc.

e.g. Ndociſamba zino (Am I to travel now?)

Ndopinda here? (Am I now to enter?)

The negative of these forms consists of the positive with the negative infix -sa-.

e.g. Ndosafamba here? (Am I not to travel now?)

Ndosapinda here? (Am I now to enter now?)

608. The exclusive is also used extensively in consecutive narrative to render an action subsequent upon another, or a series of such actions. The time during which the action or actions take place may be past, present or future.

e.g. Gare-gare, rimpe zuwa, musikana wakaimba rwiyo
rwake rwokusanduka wowa shumba (Later on, one day, the girl sang her song of changing form and she became a lion).

Kunho dzayo ndokubva dzapfumirirwa nevu, washe'mi, votadza kufema, votofema nomukanwa (Its nostrils forthwith were stuffed up with soil, O Lord, he (honorific plural in Shona) now cannot breathe, he only breathes now through his mouth).

Musikana waitwa somunya, kuciti kana aya mauro wonoyedzisa namapere. Zino kana otamba namapere, cimpe cipere codonhedza rute, cokwenya musikana uye. Hamba iciona, yoti: "Mwana wavanhu, cipere!" Zino coti: "Ha, talita sey? Tinotamba zedu". Uaidaro misi yose. (The girl was treated like a servant, it happening that when it was evening she then went to spend the night with the hyenas. Now when she danced with the hyenas, one short fat hyena then dripped saliva and scratched that girl. The tortoise seeing then said: "It is a child of the humans, fat hyena!" Then it said: "Ha, what were we doing? We are just playing". They would do that every day).

Hanzadzisikana inoti kuhanzadzikomana: 'Faba wangu', iyowo hanzadzikomana yoti kuhanzadzisikana: 'Amai wangu' (The sister says to the brother: 'My father', and he also, the brother says to the sister: 'My mother').

609. In affirmative questions, the positive present perfect of the verb -ti (say, do), with participial complement in the exclusive, renders the exclusive implication.

e.g. Ko, mvura, yati yona kwenyu here? (Tell me, is it raining yet at your place?)

610. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiri kucitora (I am now taking).

This form consists of the present indefinite of the verb -ri (be) followed by the infinitive complement which incorporates the exclusive formative -ci-.

The common negative form in Ze. consists of the negative present perfect of the verb -ti (say, do) with a participial present continuous complement. This form, in the speech of many -e.g. in Ka. - is not strongly exclusive.¹ A more emphatic exclusive form is formed by prefixing the negative formative ha- to the positive.

Negative: handisati ndiri kutora (I am not yet taking)

To many this is equivalent to I am not taking.

Handiri kucitora (I am not yet taking).

611. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndacineta (now I am tired)

This form is composed of the simple perfect with the exclusive formative -ci- infixed between the concord and the stem. Non-inchoative verbs are not found in the exclusive perfect, the form, e.g. ndacitora (I then took), referring to recent past time.

The negative consists of the negative present perfect of the verb -ti (say, do) followed by a participial simple perfect, both of inchoative and non-inchoative verb stems.

e.g. handisati ndaneta (I am not yet tired)
handisati ndauya (I have not yet come)

1. In Ka., the negative present perfect of -ti, followed by participials, appears to form simple negatives rather than negative exclusives. e.g. Louw, p. 29: haazati akauya (he did not come). Nevertheless, examples in which this construction is exclusive do occur.

Footnote from previous page continued.

Examples of the exclusive perfect:

Akanga acirwara kwazo, zino acinaya (He was very sick but he is now recovered).

"Unoregereyi mpana aciita zakadayi?" "Mpana uyu, ndacineta naye!" ("Why do you allow the child to act like this?" "This child, I am now tired of him").

Hakuna pokurara. A, zino ndacineta kuzonosika mberi (There is nowhere to sleep. Ah, I'm (too) tired now to go on further).

612. The forms for the exclusive perfect of action are:

Positive: ndava kucitora (I am in the state of now taking),

viz. the simple perfect of the verb -ua (become) followed by an infinitive with the exclusive formative -ci- infixed.

Negative: handisati ndava kutora (I am not yet in the state of taking),

viz. the negative present perfect of -ti (say, do)

followed by the participial form of the simple perfect of action.

613. The forms for the verbs of type -gara (become seated) are the same as those of other inchoative verbs in the positive.

e.g. ndacigara (now I am seated)

In the negative the negative present perfect of -ti is followed by the participial present perfects of these verbs.

e.g. handisati ndigere (I am not yet seated)

614. A very common alternative method of forming the negative exclusive perfect is to use the positive present perfect of the verb -gara with an infinitive complement.

e.g. ndigere kuneta (I am not yet tired; lit. I stay to be tired)

ndigere kudzoka (I am not yet returned).

ndigere kupedza (I am not yet finished).

kugere kuyedza (It has not yet dawned).

615. In affirmative questions the positive perfect of -ti with participial simple perfect may be used.

e.g. Mati maona nyoka here? (Have you yet seen a snake?)
Ndati ndaenzana here nenzombe iyo yemombe? (Am I equal yet to that bull of a head-of-cattle?)

Kwete (hawati wamboenzana nayo
(hausati

(No, you are not yet at all equal to it).

616. b) The recent past tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndatora (I took).

This form consists of the past subject concord + verb stem.
It refers to what has happened on the day of speaking.

The same form is used with certain inchoative
and non-inchoative verb stems to form the present perfect.

There are three alternative negative forms of which
the last mentioned is the most widely used.

Negative: handatora (I took not)

handisatora (I took not)

handina kutora (I took not)

The first form consists of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive recent past. The second form consists of the prefixal negative formative ha- + the basic concord + the negative infix -sa- + the verb stem. The third form is compound and consists of the negative present of -na followed by an infinitive. The second form is common in Ma., the third in Ze. and Ka. The first form is not very common but is allowed.

Examples of the recent past.

Ndamuka maggwanani ano (I got up this morning)

Ndabva mumusha nhasi (I left home to-day).

Ogoro yanyura mudope (The waggon sank into the mud).

Hatina kumuona nhasi (We did not see him today).

Hatina kutamba nhasi (We did not dance today).

"Wabvepiko?" "Ndabva pagara panavamne, ndasiyawo mombe dzangupo". (Where have you come from, we ask? "I have come from the plain where the others are, I further left my oxen there").

617. Most of the following forms are examples of tense combinations and consist of the recent past tense of the copulative and deficient verb -nga (be) + a present participial in one or other of the aspects or implications. The time relationship is that of recent past (when the action or state took place) to present (the time, with

reference to the recent past, of the aspect or implication).

618. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndiri kutora (I was taking).

Negative: ndanga ndisiri kutora (I was not taking).

These forms consist of the recent past of the copulative and deficient verb -nga (be) with the positive and negative participial present continuous forms respectively. These forms are tense combinations, the relationship being that of recent past to present time. The copulative verb -nga indicates the time of the action, the complement, an action simultaneous with that time and of continuous aspect.

619. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndaneta (I was tired)

ndanga ndakakora (I was fat)

ndanga ndauya (I was come)

ndanga ndava kutora (I was in the state of taking)

ndanga ndigere (I was seated)

Negative: ndanga ndisaneta (I was not tired)

ndanga ndisakakora (I was not fat)

ndanga ndisauya (I was not come)

ndanga ndisava kutora (I was not in the state of taking)

ndanga ndisigere (I was not seated)

These forms consist of the recent past of the verb -nga (be) followed by the participial forms - positive or negative - of the various types of perfect aspect.

Alternative forms of the negative in the first three cases are:

ndanga ndisina kuneta (I was not tired)

ndanga ndisina kukora (I was not fat)

ndanga ndisina kuuya (I was not come),

the complements being the participial forms of handina kuneta etc. a form which does not distinguish the specific time when the process which resulted in the perfect aspect came to an end.

620. 11) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndicatora (I still took)

Negative: ndanga ndisisatore (I no longer took)

These forms consist of the recent past of the copulative verb -nga + the participial forms of the positive or negative present progressive indefinite.

621. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndiciri kutora (I was still taking)

Negative: ndanga ndicisiri kutora (I was no longer taking)

These forms are composed of the recent past of the copulative verb -nga + the participial forms of the positive or negative present progressive continuous.

622. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndicakaneta (I was still tired)

ndanga ndicakakora (I was still fat)

ndanga ndicaca kutora (I was still in the state of taking)

ndanga ndicigere (I was still seated)

Negative: ndanga ndisisakaneta (I was no longer tired)

ndanga ndisisakakora (I was no longer fat)

ndanga ndisisave kutora (I was no longer in the state of taking)

ndanga ndisisakagara (I was no longer seated)

These forms consist of the recent past of the copulative verb -nga + the participial forms of the positive or negative present progressive perfect.

Alternative forms for the negative of the first, second and fourth forms are:

ndanga ndicisina kuneta (I was no longer tired)

ndanga ndicisina kukora (I was no longer fat)

ndanga ndicisina kugara (I was no longer seated),

viz. the recent past of -nga + the negative participial progressive of -na + the infinitive.

623. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndacitora (I then took)

This form is composed of the past subject concord + exclusive formative -ci- + the verb stem.

Negative: ndanga ndisati ndotora (I did not yet take)

This form is composed of the recent past of the copulative verb -nga + the participial form of the negative present exclusive handati ndotora/handisati ndotora (I do not yet take).

624. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndiri kucitora (I was then taking)

ndacinge ndiri kutora (I was then taking)

Negative: ndanga ndisik' kucitora (I was not yet taking)

ndanga ndisati ndiri kutora (I was not yet taking)

Of the two alternative positive forms, the first is composed of the recent past of the verb -nga followed by the participial form of the positive present exclusive continuous. The second form infixes the exclusive formative -ci- in the recent past form of the verb -nga, this past exclusive form being followed by a participial present simple continuous. Of the two negatives, the recent past of the verb -nga is followed in the first case by the negative participial present exclusive continuous with formative -ci- in the complementary infinitive, and in the second case by the negative present perfect participial of the verb -ti followed by the participial present simple continuous.

625. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndanga ndacineta (I was then tired)

ndanga ndacikora (I was then fat)

ndanga ndava kucitora (I was then in the state
of taking)

ndanga ndacigera (I was then seated)

These forms consist of the recent past of the verb -nga + the participial forms of the various forms of the positive present exclusive perfect.

Alternative forms infixing the exclusive formative -ci- within the recent past of -nga and followed by the positive participial present simple perfect also exist.

e.g. ndacinge ndaneta (I was then tired)
ndacinge ndakora (I was then fat)
ndacinge ndaca kutora (I was then in the state of taking).
ndacinge ndigere (I was then seated)

The negative forms are composed of the recent past of the verb -nga + the negative participial present perfect of the verb -ti followed by the various forms of the positive participial present perfect.

Negative: ndanga ndisati ndaneta (I was not yet tired)
ndanga ndisati ndakora (I was not yet fat)
ndanga ndisati ndaca kutora (I was not yet in the state of taking)
ndaqga ndisati ndigere (I was not yet seated)

626. In positive interrogatives a positive participial present exclusive perfect of the verb -ti may be used after a recent past of the verb -nga.

e.g. Wanga wati waneta here? (Were you yet tired?)

627. c) The non-recent past tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndakatora (I took)

This form is composed of the past subject concord + the formative -ka- + the verb stem. Non-recent past time refers to what has taken place before the day of speaking.

As in the case of the recent past, there are several alternative negative forms.

Negative: handakatora (I took not)
handisakatora (I took not) Ma.
handizakatora (I took not) Ka.
handina kutora (I took not) Ze.

Of these forms the first, consisting of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive is correct in all dialect groups but not widely used. The second and third forms consisting of negative prefixal formative ha- + basic subject

concord + formative -sa- (in Ka. -za-) + past formative -ka- + the verb stem are commonly used in Ma. and Ka. respectively. The fourth form is the most common in Ze. and consists of the negative present of -na followed by the infinitive.

Examples of the non-recent past:

Oakatevera tsoro, vakaona nyuci dziri mumuti (They followed the honey-guide and saw bees in the tree).

Mangwana baba wakaisa mucetura munyama asi gonzo rakaona rikaendaze rikataurira mukomana kuti asadye nyama (On the morrow the father put poison in the meat but the rat saw and went again and told the boy not to eat the meat).

Ndakaswera ndicirima (I spent the day ploughing).

Handina kuswera ndicirima (I did not spend the day ploughing).

628. The forms for the other implications and aspects in this tense are formed by the addition of the derived formative -ka- to the recent past forms. Its position is immediately after the first subject concord in each case. Thus the verb -nga will be in the non-recent past tense and followed by the same complements as in the recent past.

e.g. ndakanga ndiri kutora (I was taking) Positive
indicative non-recent past continuous.

The tense combinations will be those of non-recent past and present.

The form for the positive non-recent past exclusive indefinite is:

e.g. ndakacitora (I then took).

This being the case it is not necessary to set out the non-recent past forms at length.

629. d) The future tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicatora (I shall take)

Negative: handicatora (I shall not take) Ze.
handicatori (I shall not take) Ka. Ma.

The positive form consists of the basic subject concord + the formative -ca- + the verb stem. The negative consists, in Ze., of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive but, in Ka. and Ma., terminative -a of the verb stem is changed to -i. In these forms -ca-, while identical in form with the progressive formative, is different in function.

The time referred to is any future time, near or far.

630. The present indefinite, positive and negative, is often used with a future meaning. The difference between this form and the future simple indefinite is not one of time but one of certainty. The former is used of an action which one means certainly to do.

e.g. "Ndicauya". "Rega kuti: 'Ndicauya', mpanawe: kana ucida kuuya, ingoti: 'Ndinouya'".
("I'll come". "Don't say: 'I'll come', child: if you mean to come, just say: 'I shall come'".)

It is as if the future were reduced to the present because it is certain.

e.g. Cokwadi gore rino ndinotenga mbudzi dzangu nezio zangu (Truly this year I shall buy my goats with my corn).

Sekuru wakapindura aciti: "Uri kupenga; ndinokuroua". Ndizo iye wakanyarara hake (The uncle replied saying: "You are mad; I shall beat you". And so he became silent for his part).

631. The forms:

Positive: ndinozotora (I come to take)
ndicazotora (I shall come to take)

Negative: handizotora (I come not to take)
handicazotora (I shall not come to take)

have been instanced as being the forms for the remote and more remote futures respectively.¹ These forms incorporate the deficient verb -za (come) + the contracted infinitive, and indicate that an action is done after, and in consequence of, another. The deficient verb + contracted infinitive prefix -zo- is not confined to future tenses, e.g. ndazouya (I came to come, I then came, so I came). Hence it can hardly serve here as a remote future formative.²

1. O'Neil, p. 37-8.

2. Nevertheless, in these combinations, the meaning of -zo- is often that of mere futurity, the notion of a consequence not being in evidence.

Examples of the future simple indefinite:

Kuda acakushevedzayi (Perhaps he will call you).

Kaseke acakokera vazhinji, kana nemi (Kaseke will invite many, even you also).

Ikati: "Ezo, mukuru wangu, mandidukupisa. Handicazosimudzira musoro wangu pakare" (And it said: "Right enough, my elder, you have humbled me. I shall not again lift up my head).

Kana wanditaurira, ndicaenda: kana usina kunditaurira, handicaenda (If you tell me I shall go: if you don't tell me, I shall not go).

Hatisevenze mangwana (We do not work tomorrow).

632. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndiri kutora (I shall be taking)

Negative: ndinenge ndisiri kutora (I shall not be taking)

The deficient and copulative verb for the compound future tenses is also -nga, though, in Ze. and Ka., in the form of -nge. The usual formative for the future of -nge is -no- (> -ne- through assimilation), it being rather rare to find the formative -ca- used in this function.

The forms for the future tenses are composed, then, of the future of the verb -nga followed by the participial forms of the various aspects and implications. They will be listed below without further explanatory comment.

633. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndianeta (I shall be tired)

ndinenge ndakakora (I shall be fat)

ndinenge ndauya (I shall be come)

ndinenge ndava kutora (I shall be in the state of taking)

ndinenge ndigere (I shall be seated)

Negative: ndinenge (ndisaneta (I shall not be tired)
(ndisina kuneta

ndinenge (ndisakakora (I shall not be fat)
(ndisina kukora

ndinenge (ndisauya
(ndisina kuuya (I shall not be come)

ndinenge ndisava kutora (I shall not be in
the state of taking)

ndinenge ndisigere (I shall not be seated)

634. 11) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndinege ndicatora (I shall still take)

Negative: ndinege ndisisatore (I shall no longer take)

635. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinege ndiciri kutora (I shall be still taking)

Negative: ndinege ndicisiri kutora (I shall no longer be taking)

636. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinege ndicakaneta (I shall still be tired)
ndinege ndicakakora (I shall still be fat)
ndinege ndicava kutora (I shall still be in the state of taking)
ndinege ndicigere (I shall still be seated)

Negative: ndinege ndisisakaneta (I shall no longer be tired)
ndinege ndisisakakora (I shall no longer be fat)
ndinege ndisisave kutora (I shall no longer be in the state of taking)
ndinege ndisisakagara (I shall no longer be seated)

637. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicacitora (I shall then take)

Negative: ndinege ndisati ndotora (I shall not yet take)

638. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinege ndiri kucitora¹ (I shall then be taking)

Negative: ndinege ndisiri kucitora (I shall not yet be taking)
ndinege ndisati ndiri kutora (I shall not yet be taking).

639. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinege ndacineta (I shall then be tired)
ndinege ndacikora (I shall then be fat)
ndinege ndava kucitora (I shall then be in the state of taking)
ndinege ndacigara (I shall then be seated)

1. Not ndinocinge ndiri kutora which would be the frequentative form of the habitual mode, q.v.

Negative: ndinenge ndisati ndaneta (I shall not yet be tired)
 ndinenge ndisati ndakora (I shall not yet be fat)
 ndinenge ndisati ndava kutora (I shall not yet be
 in the state of taking)
 ndinenge ndisati ndigere (I shall not yet be
 seated)

640. B. The habitual mode.

The habitual mode contains two tenses - present and past. In each tense the implications and aspect are found.

641. a) The present tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndinotora (I take)

This form is composed of the basic subject concord + the derived formative -no- + the verb stem.

Negative: handitore (I do not take)

This form is composed of the prefixal negative formative ha- + the basic subject concord + the verb root + terminative -e (in Ka. and Ma. -i).

642. The primary function of the positive forms is habitual. This does not prevent it, as we have seen, from having a secondary function as an incidental simple present or an incidental simple future. The primary function of the above negative form is probably incidental simple present. Here it has a secondary habitual function.

Examples of the habitual present:

Vanhu vanorima nemombe (People plough with cattle)

Shave-shave rinotota maruva (The butterfly sucks the flowers).

Imbga yakati kucidambakura: "Iwe, unoregereyi kugara mumusha"? Cidambakura cakati: "Ndinotya kuurayiwa navanhu" (The dog said to the red-headed lizard: "You, why don't you live in the village"? The red-headed lizard said: "I am afraid to be killed by the people").

Kumusha kwedu hatidye sadza nenyama mazuba ose asi tinoti, mumbe musi todaya sadza torega nyama (At our village we do not eat porridge and meat every day but what we do is one day we eat porridge and leave meat).

Tinoenda Harare neCina coga-coga (We go to Salisbury every Thursday).

Hasevenze mazuba ose (He does not work every day)

643. The frequentative habitual with formative -ci-.

The indefinite form, with the formative -ci- infixed, results in a frequentative form of the habitual, indicating that an action is done often, from time to time.

Positive: ndinocitora (I often take)

Negative: handinocitora (I do not often take)

The negative is formed with the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive form.

These forms signify frequent action. To some speakers they indicate frequent action in the past; other informants report them as of the present. Probably the past that is referred to is still part of one's customary life, and so may be considered as in continuity with the present. The past habitual differs from this frequentative in referring quite definitely to a past state of affairs no longer obtaining.

Examples of the frequentative:

Nayi, amai, riva rinocibuka kaviri here? (Tell me, mother, does a trap sometimes go off twice?)

Anocidya sadza here? Hongu anocidya (Does he sometimes eat porridge? Yes, he sometimes does).

Unoregereyi kudya sadza rangu randinobika? Rinociuya ndaguta (Why don't you eat my porridge which I cook? It usually comes when I am full).

Ko, munocipuwa zorora here, kana kwana mvura? (Tell me, are you sometimes given a holiday when it has rained?)

Ndinociputa mazuba ose asi nhasi ndaputa ndakosora (I used to smoke every day but today I smoked and coughed).

Mombe dzinocinwira pano (The cattle often used to drink here - and may do so again).

Mhuka dzinocipfuura napano (The game animals used often to pass through here).

644. The further implications and aspects of this tense and mode are formed by means of the present habitual of the copulative and deficient verb -nga (e.g. ndinenge (I usually am)) + the participial complements characteristic of each implication and aspect.

645. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndiri kutora (I am usually taking)

Negative: ndinenge ndisiri kutora (I am usually not taking)

e.g. Zavanodzoka kucikoro ndinenge ndiri kurima (When they come from school I am usually ploughing).

Handiuye nokucimbidzika nokuti ndinenge ndiri kudya (I don't come quickly because I am usually eating).

Pamunodzoka ndinenge ndisiri kudya (When you return I am usually not eating).

646. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndaguta (I am usually replete)

Negative: ndinenge ndisaguta (I am usually not replete)

e.g. "Ko, unotambireyi vange vaciri kudya?" "A, ndinenge ndaguta" (Why do you play when the others are still eating?" "Oh, I am usually full").

647. 1) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndicatora (I usually still take)

Negative: ndinenge ndisisatore (I usually no longer take)

e.g. "Unoregereyi kukuya kana waudzwa naamai?" "Ndinenge ndicatsaira" (Why don't you grind when you are told by your mother?" "I usually still sweep").

648. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndiciri kutora (I am usually still taking)

Negative: ndinenge ndicisiri kutora (I am usually no longer taking).

e.g. Zavanodzoka kucikoro ndinenge ndicisiri kurima (When they return from school I am usually no longer ploughing).

649. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndicakaneta (I am usually still tired)

Negative: ndinenge ndisisakaneta (I am usually no longer tired)

e.g. Handisunge mombe panguba yecitatu nokuti ndinenge ndicakaneta (I don't inspan the oxen at three because I am usually still tired).

650. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndotora (I usually then take)

Negative: ndinenge ndisati ndotora (I usually do not yet take)

e.g. dare zarinorira tinegge toenda kucikoro (When the bell rings we usually then go to school).

dare zarinorira ndinenge ndisati ndoenda nokuti ndinenge ndicinebasa (When the bell rings I usually do not yet go because I usually still have work).

651. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndiri kucitora (I am usually then taking)

Negative: ndinenge ndisiri kucitora (I am usually not yet taking)

e.g. Uya kwandiri zandinenge ndiri kucidya (Come to me when I am (now) eating).

652. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndinenge ndaciguta (I am usually then replete)

Negative: ndinenge ndisati ndaguta (I am usually not yet replete)

653. Examples of the verb -gga used with the frequentative formative -ci- and followed by participials in the various aspects and implications:

e.g. - with simple continuous complement:

Zandinocinge ndicikutuka, ndinocinge ndiri kutamba zangu (When I used to curse you, I used to be playing).

Ndinocinge ndisiri kuseka pandinocikutaurira (I used not to be laughing when I used to speak to you).

- with simple perfect complement:

Pavanocirwa mauro ndinocinge ndigere, ndisati ndakotsira (When they fight in the evening, I am usually sitting up, not yet asleep).

- with progressive indefinite complement:

Paanocipfuura napano, ndinocinge ndicazarira mombe (When he used to pass this way, I used still to shut up the cattle).

Ndinocinge ndisisafudze mombe nokuti ndinocinge ndaenda kumunda (I used no longer to herd the cattle because I used to be gone to the field).

- with progressive continuous complement:

Ndinocinge ndiciri kubva kumafuro mapfeni zaanocidya mumunda (I used still to be coming from the pastures when the baboons were eating in the field).

- with progressive perfect complement:

"Ko, unociregereyi kupopotana naye usina kunwa hwahwa?"
"Nokuti ndinocinge ndisisakadakwa" (Tell me, why don't you quarrel with him when you have not drunk beer?" "Because I am no longer drunk").

- with exclusive indefinite complement:

Ndinocinge ndorwara (I used then to get sick)

Ndinocinge ndisati ndorwara (I did not usually yet get sick).

- with exclusive continuous complement:

Ndinocinge ndiri kucinzwa musoro (I used to be with a headache then).

- with exclusive perfect complement:

Unocinge wacidzoka here? (Are you usually back by then?)

Hongu, tinocinge tacidzoka (Yes, we are usually back by then).

Unocinge usati wauya here? (Are you usually not yet back?)

654. b) The past tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The iniefinite aspect.

Positive: ndaitora (I used to take)

Negative: handaitora (I used not to take)

The positive form is composed of the past subject concord + the derived formative -i- + the verb stem. The negative consists of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the positive.

An alternative negative form composed of the past subject concord + the derived formative -i- + the negative infix -sa- + the verb stem. This may also be participial.

These forms refer to habitual action in a context which does not now exist but which existed in the past.¹

Examples of the past habitual:

Sanhu vakare vaifunga kuti varungu havana-mabvi. (The people of old used to think that the Europeans had no knees).

Taigarako (We used to live here).

Seyiko vaipedza mhuka kudayi? Kuti vawane husavi hwokusevesa kwazo kwazo pangwa dzezhezha pavanenge vava namaŋasa okurima (Why used they to finish off the animals like this? So that they might obtain relish with which to season (the porridge) especially at the time of the rains when they would have the work of cultivation).

Haalvima nokuti akanga asinamaŋara (He used not to hunt because he had no bullets).

655. This form is sometimes used with a past continuous rather than a habitual meaning:

e.g. Nezuro wairima munda wake (Yesterday he was cultivating his field).

Asi waicema cete nguwa dzose (But he was crying all the time).

Kugaga kwaiva navana vadiki vaicongeta zipfuo zavo (At the plain there were small children who were tending their animals).

The copulative verb -nga, when used in this form and with this past continuous meaning, helps to form past continuous aspects:

e.g. the past progressive continuous: (positive and negative)

Ndainge ndicadya (I was still eating)

cp. the form given above: (of seemingly the same meaning):

Ndaaga ndiciri kudya (I was still eating)

1. The same form is used as an alternative to the potential present, e.g. in the apodoses of conditional sentences. Both meanings of this form, viz. the habitual and the conditional, are covered by the English deficient verb 'would'.

e.g. Ndalendako (I would go there, used to go there).
dayi tisingatere ciyi caizoitika? (If we did not pay tax, what would happen?)

e.g. Ndainge ndisisadye (I was no longer eating)

cp. the form given above (of seemingly the same meaning):

Ndaanga ndisisiri kudya.

656. Formative -ci- of frequent action is used with the past habitual as well as with the present.

e.g. Ndaicitora (I used frequently to take)

Handaicitora (I used not frequently to take)

e.g. Ama! waicicera parondo iro waciumbisa hari (The mother used frequently to dig at that clay-pit as she was moulding pots).

Hawaicicera (She used not to dig frequently).

Ambuya waka hawaicimuroua (His grandmother used not often to beat him).

657. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndainge ndiri kutora (I used to be taking)

Negative: ndainge ndisiri kutora (I used not to be taking)

658. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndainge ndaguta (I used to be replete)

Negative: ndainge ndisaguta (I used not to be replete)

659. 11) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndainge ndicatora (I used still to take)

Negative: ndainge ndisisatore (I used no longer to take)

660. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndainge ndiciri kutora (I used still to be taking)

Negative: ndainge ndicisiri kutora (I used no longer to be taking).

661. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndainge ndicakaneta (I used still to be tired)

Negative: ndainge ndisisakaneta (I used no longer to be tired).

662. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndaingé ndotora (I used to then take)

Negative: ndaingé ndisati ndotora (I used not yet to take)

663. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndaingé ndiri kucitora (I used to be then taking)

Negative: ndaingé ndisiri kucitora (I used to be not yet taking)

664. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndaingé ndacineta (I used then to be tired)

Negative: ndaingé ndisati ndaneta (I used not yet to be tired)

665. The above participial complements may also be used with the past frequentative habitual of -ngga.

e.g. ndaicingé ndaneta (I used often to be tired)

Znaitonga mambo, ndaicingé ndiripo (When the chief used to judge, I used often to be present)

Zavaitaura naye, ndaicingé ndimirepo (When they used to speak with him, I used often to be standing by).

666. 0. The tense combinations.

The tense combinations are compound forms containing within them a combination of two tenses. The first of these tenses is the tense of the deficient verb and this is reckoned with reference to the actual present, or the present in mind, and expressed in the normal tense forms, whether past, present or future. The tense of the deficient verb is the tense of the total predicate.

e.g. in the compound predicate ndanga ndatora (I was, I having taken - viz. I had taken), the tense is recent past as expressed in the form ndanga.

The second tense which the compound predicate contains is that of the complement. This tense is reckoned with regard to the tense of the deficient verb and signifies the state of performance of the action at that time -

whether it be past at that time, present at that time, or future at that time. In the example given above, the complement is in the recent past and the meaning of the total predicate is that at the time in mind (the tense of the deficient verb - recent past) the action of taking was already in the recent past.

e.g. Zaauya nhasi, ndanga ndatora mombe dzake (When he came today, I had taken his cattle).

These compound forms are very frequently introduced by an adverbial clause - as in the above example. The time referred to in these clauses coincides with the time of the deficient verb. The complement expresses the state of performance of the action at that time.

The compound forms of the implications and aspects, as set out above, have contained many examples of tense combinations. In these, however, the complement has invariably be present to or simultaneous with the tense of the deficient verb. Combinations have, then, been of the types:

- past-present (e.g. ndanga ndaneta (I was tired))
- present-present (e.g. ndinenge nianeta (I am usually tired))
- future-present (e.g. ndinenge ndaneta) (I shall be tired))
ndicange nianeta)

667. 1. Tense combinations in the incidental mode.

a) There is no tense combination with its first member in the present incidental. The form ndinenge is either present habitual or future incidental.

668. b) Recent past of the deficient verb.

The following tense combinations are made up of the recent past form of the copulative verb -nga (be) followed by the past, present and future participials respectively.

Positive: ndanga ndakatora (I was + I having taken¹; + I had taken)
Recent past - remote past.

1. It is difficult to translate the Shona participials with an English participial equivalent. 'I having taken' must not be taken to imply here a present perfect, but a past simple indefinite. All the participials used in these combinations are simple in implication, indefinite in aspect.

At the time stated by the deficient verb (viz. recent past), the action of taking was remote past.

ndanga ndatora (I was + I having taken - I had taken)
Recent past - recent past.

At the time stated by the deficient verb (viz. recent past), the action of taking was recent past.

ndanga ndicitora (I was + I taking¹ - I was taking)
Recent past - present.

At the time stated by the deficient verb (viz. recent past), the action of taking was contemporaneous.

ndanga ndicatora² (I was + I being about to take -
I was about to take)

Recent past - future.

At the time stated by the deficient verb, the action of taking was future.

Negative: ndanga ndisina kutora³ (I was + I not having taken -
I had not taken)

Recent past - negative past.

At the time stated by the deficient verb, the action of taking was not past, neither in the recent, nor the non-recent past.

ndanga ndisingatore⁴ (I was + I not taking - I was
not taking)

At the time stated by the deficient verb, the action of taking was neither contemporaneous nor future.

4. This negative participial may refer to the future as well as to present time. A more explicit participial in this context where a consequence is denied would employ the deficient verb + contracted infinitive prefix: -zo-. e.g. ndisingazotora (I not coming to take; I not then taking).
3. This is the form of the negative past participial in Ze. It does not distinguish between recent and non-recent past time. The negative participials ndisatora and ndisakatora, used mostly in Ma., are respectively of recent and non-recent past time. Ka. would either employ the above or the form ndizakatora which, seemingly, is also used to refer to all past time, recent or non-recent. Cf. Louw, p. 29, 32.
2. This may also mean 'I still took' - in which case the participial would be functioning as a progressive, not as a simple.
1. The present participial, though translated 'I taking', is not inherently continuous. In this combination, the subject concord of the present participial is high in tone. This is due to attraction from the verb -nga. Normally the subject concords of this form are low - all other participial subject concords being high.

(ndinege ndicitora (I will be taking)
(ndicange

(ndinege ndicatora (I will be about to take)
(ndicange

e.g. Patinosangana ndicange ndadzoka (When we meet I will
have returned)

Paanodzoka ndicange ndicirima (When he returns I
shall be cultivating).

Negative: (ndinege ndisina kutora (I shall not have taken)
(ndicange

(ndinege ndisingatore (I shall not be taking)
(ndicange

672. 11. Tense combinations in the habitual mode.

a) Present tense of the deficient verb.

In these forms the present habitual of the verb -nga is
used as the deficient verb and is followed by past, present
and future participials.

Positive: ndinege ndakatora (I am + I having taken - I
have usually taken)

Present - non-recent past.

ndinege ndatora (I am + I having taken - I
have usually taken)

Present - recent past.

ndinege ndicitora (I am + I taking - I am
usually taking)

Present - present.

ndinege ndicatora (I am + I about to take - I
am usually about to take).

Present - future.

Negative: ndinege ndisina kutora (I am + I not having taken -
I usually have not taken)
Present - negative past.

ndinege ndisingatore (I am + I not taking - I am
not usually taking)
Present - negative present.

Alternative forms for the above negative forms
consist of the negative present of the copulative -nga
followed by the customary participials in the positive.

e.g. handinge ndicitora (I am not usually taking)

Examples of these tense combinations:

Pamunhuruka ndinenge ndakarima munda wangu (By the first rains I have usually ploughed my field).

Pandinenge ndicienda kumunda, anenge acitinha mombe kudagga (When I am going to the field, he is usually driving the cattle to the pen).

Handinge ndicisakura pavanenge vacidiridza maruwa (I am not usually weeding when they are watering the flowers).

673. b) The past tenses of the deficient verb.

These forms consist of the past habitual of the copulative verb -nga followed by the positive and negative participials.

e.g. ndaingge ndakatora (I used to be + I having taken - I used to have taken)

ndaingge ndatora (I used to be + I having taken - I used to have taken)

ndaingge ndicitora (I used to be + I taking - I used to be taking).

ndaingge ndicatora (I used to be + I about to take - I used to be about to take).

ndaingge ndisina kutora (I used to be + I not having taken - I used not to have taken).

ndaingge ndisingatore (I used to be + I not taking - I used not to be taking).

Alternative forms for the negative are formed with the negative past habitual of the verb -nga followed by the positive participials.

e.g. handaingge ndicitora (I used not to be + I taking - I used not to be taking)

Examples of these tense combinations:

Ndaingge ndicibatsira amai zandaica mpama mudiki (I used to be helping my mother when I was a small child).

Handaingge ndiciba maranjisi kunyangwe akanditi zangu ndaiba (I used not to be stealing the oranges although he said that I used to steal).

The frequentative forms of the present and past habitual e.g. ndinocinge and ndaicinge are also used with the participials.

4. The participial mood.

674. The participial is a predicative form in which the subject is described as being engaged in an action or state after the manner of the English participle. In Shona the participial is a finite mood of the verb, and the subject of the participial, whether substantivally expressed or implied, is always represented in the participial by the participial subject concord.

The participial mood has been called the dependent form,¹ the dependent indicative,² or the verb in the dependent position.³ These notions are helpful because, though the relation between subject and predicate in this mood may sometimes be presented as actual, the predication is always dependent grammatically upon a main predicate. This becomes clear if we examine the various uses of the participial mood. In particular the tense of the participial is determined with reference to that of the main predicate.⁴

675. Uses of the participial mood.

1) The participial mood supplies verbal forms which may be qualificative, descriptive or both qualificative and descriptive. The participials are usually embodied in clauses.

a) They are qualificative when they refer to the subject, object, or extension of a predicate.

e.g. Tauro akauya aciimba rwiyo rwokufara (Hare came singing a joyful song).

Oakaona Saša acirimba mumunda wake (They saw father ploughing in his field).

1. Cf. Louw, p. 70.

2. Jacottet in Sotho.

3. Cf. Paroz, Elements of Southern Sotho, p.16.

4. As for example in the tense combinations. Here, in this section, the dependence of participial upon main predicate for tense is shown to obtain in other contexts as well.

Uakandiona ndicirima mumunda mangu (They saw me ploughing in my field).

Ndakasangana nomuzukuru wangu akatakura singa rehuni (I met my grandchild carrying a bundle of wood).

b) They are descriptive when used absolutely - agreeing concordially with a substantive which is neither subject, object nor extension of the predicate. They are also descriptive of the predicate when they qualify a subject.

e.g. Ndakauya nezuro mvura icinaya kwazo (I came yesterday, the rain falling hard).

Zandakadzokera kumusha nenyama yandakabaya amai vakandigamucira vacipururudza nokupembera kwazo (When I returned home with the meat which I had slain, my mother received me ululating and dancing much).

2) The participial mood is used after many conjunctives in the formation of clauses.

e.g. Kana ndiciuya, rega kunditanda (If I come, don't chase me away).

3) As already stated, the participial is used as the complement of deficient verbs in the tense combinations. It is used as the complement of deficient verbs in other compound predicates as well.

e.g. Ndanga ndiciuya (I was coming).

4) It is used after the adverb seyi? (why? how?) used in a copulative sense.

e.g. Seyiko aciuya kuno? (Why does he come here?)

5) In Shona, the negative relative predicate and the positive relative predicate in relatives of indirect relation is based in form upon the participial.¹

e.g. Mukadzi asingabike..(A woman who does not cook..)
cp. asingabike (she not cooking)

1. Cp. Doke, Outline Bantu Grammar, p. 49 for this summary of participial functions.

576. The formation of the participial.

The characteristic mechanisms for the formations of the participial mood are the following:

1) Tone. The subject concords of the participial for all persons are high, with the exception of the positive participial present simple indefinite, e.g. ndiciuya (I coming), where the subject concords are all low in tone. This difference in tone is the main difference between the positive indicative forms and the positive participial forms, other than the present simple indefinite.

e.g. Niauya nhasi (I came today)

Kana ndiauya nhasi, (When I have come today)

This difference in tone, however, between the indicative and participial subject concords, only obtains in the 1st. and 2nd. persons.

cp. Auya nhasi (He came today)

Kana auya nhasi (When he has come today)

677. 2) Concord.

Participial concords differ from indicatives in only two cases. In all dialect-groups the subject concord for the positive participial present of the 3rd person, class 1 is a-. But in Ka. and Ma., the subject concord for the positive indicative present is u-. In all dialect-groups the subject concord for the positive participial past is a-. But in Ka. and Ma., as well as occasionally in Ze., the subject concord for the positive indicative past is wa-.

e.g. Positive participial present: acitora (he taking)

Positive indicative present: unotora (he takes)
Ka. Ma.
anotora (he takes) Ze.

Positive participial past: atora (he having taken)

Positive indicative past: watora (he took) Ka.
Ma. Ze.
atora (he took) Ze.

678. 3) Formative elements other than concords.

Characteristic formative elements for the positive participial are only found in the present simple indefinite where formative -ci- occurs.

e.g. ndicitora (I taking).

Negative participial forms show a far greater divergence from the indicative than the positive participials by their use of the infixal formatives -sa- and -si-.

e.g. ndisisatore (I no longer taking).

As the same categories of conjugations as applied to the indicative are applied also the participial, these will be set out below according to the same scheme.

679. A. The incidental mode.¹

a) The present tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicitora (I taking)

The positive form is composed of the basic subject concord - which is, in this form, low in tone and of the form a- in the 3rd. person, class 1 - + the formative -ci- + the verb stem. It is the only positive participial form with a specific formative.

Negative: ndisingatore²
ndicisatora

Of these negative forms, the first is the negative participial of the potential but here used without potential meaning, and functioning as a negative participial present simple indefinite.³

The second form is recognised but not widely used. It consists of the positive form with the negative infix -sa-, or the basic participial concord + the formative -ci-, followed

1. Cf. par. 696 for a table of participial present forms.

2. In Ma. this is found as ndisikatori (I not taking).

3. It is uncertain whether there is a participial form of the potential. A participial of potential form - both positive and negative - is used after the conjunctive kana (if) but in both cases, the meaning is not potential.

Footnote continued from the previous page.

e.g. Kana ndingadye, ndecangu (If I am eating (why do you fret), it is my own).
Kana ndisingadye, ndecangu (If I am not eating (why are you fretting), it is my own).

It is noteworthy that in compound forms which incorporate a potential, it is always the deficient verb which, in Shona, is in the potential, never the complement.

e.g. ndingadayi ndatora (I would have taken).

This is in striking contrast with Nguni and Sotho where a deficient verb may be followed by a potential complement in the participial mood.

by the negative stem.

680. The participial mood does not refer to actual time like the indicative. Thus the participial present does not refer to the actual present but, being dependent, indicates an action or state contemporaneous with the time in mind, whether this be indicated by a main predicate, or by a deficient verb of which it forms the complement.

681. Examples of the use of the participial:

1) in qualificative or descriptive clauses:

Ndakaona murume asirosa mukadzi wake (I saw a man beating his wife).

Ndakaona garwe ricibata imbga (I saw a crocodile catching a dog).

Dakasangana nakacembere kacifamba zako (They met with a little old woman walking (as far as she was concerned)).

Rimpe zuva bveni rakasangana nehamba icikweva pasi tsapo yenzungu (One day a baboon met a tortoise dragging on the ground a bag of monkey nuts).

Akareva somunhu acirwira rupenyu rwake (He spoke like a person fighting for his life).

Ndakaona mpana womumbe murume asingapinde cikoro pamusana pokushaya mari (I saw a child of a certain man not going to school on account of lacking money).

Imbga yakasika padare, vanhu vacidya sadza (The dog arrived at the council place, the people eating porridge).

Mombe dzatiza, mufudzi asingazive (The cattle fled, the herd being unaware.)

Wakauya kuno, ini ndisingade (He came here without my wish, lit. I not wanting).

2) with conjunctives:¹

Kana ndicisika, nguwa iripo, ndinozokuona (If I arrive with time to spare, I shall see you).

Kana ucida kutema huni, tsaga demo (If you want to cut wood, look for an axe).

Kana usingade kuuya nesu, tinotsaga mumge anoda kuuya (If you do not want to come with us, we will look for another who wants to come).

3) with deficient verbs:²

Pota ucifamba (Keep on walking).

Ndakaramba ndicitsaga mari yandakarasa (I kept on seeking for the money which I had lost).

Ndinova ndicifunda ciRuggu kuti ndiwane Sasa rakanaka (I will go on learning English so that I may find a good job).

4) The adverbial seyi? (lit. like what?; viz. how? why?),

when used in a copulative sense, takes the present participial.

e.g. Seyi mucinyora Zezuru, mucisiya ciZezuru? (Why do you write Zezuru, omitting ciZezuru?)

Seyiko acifunga kudaro? (Why does he think like that?)

Makanzuru anemari zhinji; seyi vasingatore mayi iyi vacibakisa nayo zikoro zikuru? (The councils have a lot of money; why don't they take this money and build with it large schools?)

Tezara akati kunaye: "Seyiko usingadye sadza pampe cete nenyama? (The father-in-law said to him: "Why don't you eat porridge along with meat?)

682. A participial of phonetic form ndinotora is used after certain conjunctives but not in the other participial contexts. Thus with kunyangwe (although):

e.g. Kunyangwe zangu ndinozarira mgana wangu.. (Although I pledge my children (in marriage from birth)...))

Kana
Kunyangwe) ndinorowa zangu, handina mhosa (Although I am beaten, I don't care).

Kana ndinodzoka nhasi, handidi kukuwana pano (If I return today, I don't want to find you here).

1. Cf. Chapter XIII, The conjunctive.

2. Cf. Chapter IX, The compound predicate.

But even in these cases, the participial of form ndicitora is a more frequent alternative.

683. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiri kutora (I being taking)

Negative: ndisiri kutora (I not being taking)

e.g. Ndiri kufamba nomunzira iyi, muti wakawira pasi zhokoto (While walking along this path, a tree fell to the ground with a crash).

Akapopota nokupopota, ini ndisiri kunzwa (He grumbled and grumbled, I not listening; lit. I not being listening).

684. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndaneta (I being tired)
ndakakora (I being fat)
ndiauya (I being come)
ndava kutora (I being in the state of taking)
ndigere (I being seated)

Negative: ndisaneta (I not being tired)
ndisakakora (I not being fat)
ndisauya (I not being come)
ndisava kutora (I not being in the state of taking)
ndisigere (I not-being seated)

Alternative forms for the first three negative participial perfects are formed with the copulative verb -na.

ndisina kuneta (I not being tired)
ndisina kukora (I not being fat)
ndisina kuuya (I not being come)

e.g. The following sentences instance participial perfects of inchoative verbs.

Mhembge wakasiyiwa akagaririra patsime (The duiker was left watching at the well).

Iko tsuro hakano kauya iwe, kakagugucira magucu ako ohuci (Here, the little one, here he has come now - I tell you -, carrying his calabashes of honey).

Izi zinatodyiwa, munhu akasungwa (These are only eaten, the person being bound).

Tsuro ndokuramba kakaŝatwa (And Hare went on being held).

dayi ndirini zangu, waitondiwana ndafa nokudya, ndati rashu (If it were me, they would just find me dead with eating, gluttony).

Rega ndimbotanga ndasuda panze, ndigokuzaruririra nokunze kuti ugone kunyatsodya, ini ndakakutarisira kuti varidzi varege kukuwana ucidya (let me first come outside so that I may shut you in from the outside in order that you may eat nicely (viz. in peace), with me looking out for you so that the owners may not find you eating).

Izozo Guwa akaŋayiwa asingaone nokuti akanga akapfumbira kumeso kwake namaoko ake (And so Guwa was killed without seeing because he was holding his eyes with his hands).

Ndico cimpe cezinhu zakaita kuti kuroora kurambe kwasimba mukati mapatema (This is one of the things which has caused lobola to remain strong among the blacks).

Handeyi tinona kana wakasimba (Let us go and see if he is strong).

Sora rakanga rakapoteredza musha wose (The grass-fire surrounded the whole village).

Ikaciti yakanyatsopfawa kwazo (and it replied very gentle indeed).

685. 11) The progressive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicatora (I still taking)

Negative: ndisisatore (I no longer taking)¹

e.g. Zandadzoka, ndamuwana acarima (When I returned, I found him still ploughing).

Ndamuwana asisarware (I found him no longer sick).

686. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiciri kutora (I still being taking)

Negative: ndicisiri kutora (I no longer being taking)

e.g. Mupurisa akandibata ndiciri kutora mbatya (The policeman caught me while still (being) taking the clothes).

Akaramba acitaura asi ini ndicisiri kunzwa (He went on talking but I no longer (being) hearing).

687. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndicakaneta (I still being tired)
ndicakakora (I still being fat)
ndicava kutora (I still being in the state of taking).
ndicigere (I still being seated)

Negative: ndisisakaneta (I no longer being tired)
ndisisakakora (I no longer being fat)
ndisisave kutora (I no longer being in the state of taking)
ndisisakagara (I no longer being seated)

e.g. Ndakamuwana acakasimba (I found him still strong).

Takafamba nenzira iyi isisakarurama (We travelled by this road no longer good).

1. In Ka. and Ma. I have come across the forms: ndisingacatori (I no longer taking) Ka., and musikacavoneki (it (viz. an interior) being no longer visible) Ma. In these, the progressive formative -ca- is placed after the negative participial formatives, -singa-, -sika-.

688. 111) The exclusive implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndotora
ndocitora (I now taking)

Negative: ndisati ndotora (I not yet taking)

e.g. Ukandiwana ndofamba (They found me now (already) walking; already up and about).

Ukamuwana ocinobaya mombe (They found him just going off to kill an ox).

Zino vanhu vomuguta ukanga vofa nenzara (Now the people in the town were about to die of hunger).

Kano avona vuya anoita seyiko? (When he sees them (now) coming how does he act?)

689. 2) The continuous aspect.

Positive: ndiri kucitora (I being now taking)

Negative: ndisiri kucitora (I not yet being taking)
ndisati ndiri kutora (I not yet being taking)

Some speakers use the latter negative form as equivalent to simple indefinite, viz. I not taking.

Ndakabona vacitamba nhabvu, mvura iri kucina (I saw them playing football, the rain just falling then).

690. 3) The perfect aspect.

Positive: ndacineta (I being now tired)
ndacikora (I being now fat)
ndava kucitora (I being now in the state of taking)
ndacigara (I being now seated)

Negative: ndisati ndaneta (I not yet being tired)
ndisati ndakora (I not yet being fat)
ndisati ndauya (I not yet being come)
ndisati ndava kutora (I not yet being in the state of taking)
ndisati ndigere (I not yet being seated)

e.g. kunze kwaciti gwee (it being already light outside)

cokudya cagadzirirwa caciti nda nda nda (the food prepared and already spread)

Pashure vanhu vazinji vakaparara paMission ndokusara paciti gono (afterwards many people scattered from the Mission and the place then remained deserted).

691. b) The recent past tense.

1) The simple simplification.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndatora (I having taken)

Negative: ndisatora (I not having taken)

ndisina kutora (I not having taken)

The participial past indicates an action or state as having taken place prior to the time indicated by the main predicate. An action or state having taken place on the same day as that on which the action or state indicated by the main predicate takes place, is judged to be recent past with regard to the main predicate. If it has taken place earlier, it is judged to be non-recent past.

Of the negative forms, the first is that commonly found in Ma., the second that commonly found in Ze. and Ka. In Ka., also, the form, e.g. ndazakatora is used as a negative in this tense as well as in the non-recent past.

The remaining forms in this tense are identical in phonetic form with those of the indicative recent past except that in all forms the subject concords, not only of the complements, but also of the deficient verbs, are high in tone.

e.g. ndanga ndiri kutora (I having been being taking)
Positive participial recent past
simple continuous.

ndanga ndisiri kutora (I having been not being taking; I not having been taking)
Negative of the above.

692. c) The non-recent past tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndakatora (I having taken)

Negative: ndisakatora (I not having taken)
ndisina kutora (I not having taken)

Of the negative forms, the first is common in Ma. In Ka. it appears in the form ndazakatora. The second negative form is common in Ze. and Ka.

The remain forms of this tense are, as in the case of the recent past, the same in phonetic form as the corresponding indicatives. The subject concords, however, of the deficient verbs are high in tone.

e.g. ndakanga ndiri kutora (I having been being taking)

Positive participial non-recent past
simple continuous.

693. d) The future tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicatora (I being about to take)

Negative: ndisingatore (I not taking)¹

The participial future indicates an action or state as about to take place after the time indicated by the main predicate.

In this tense the negative participial present functions as a participial future. The deficient verb -zo- may be used to indicate a consequence but, even so, any futurity in the compound form comes from the participial as above.

e.g. dayi ndicatora mombe dzangu, handingazopfuura napano
(If I were to take my cattle, I would not pass through here).

Ndanga ndisingazonwa (I was not about to drink in consequence).

The remaining future forms are identical in phonetic form with the corresponding indicatives. The subject concords of the deficient verbs, however, are high in tone.

694. B. The habitual mode.

a) The present tense.

1) The simple implication.

1) The indefinite aspect.

Positive: ndicatora (I taking)

Negative: ndisingatore (I not taking)

The positive participial of form, e.g. ndinotora, is used after certain conjunctives but not in other participial contexts. Elsewhere the above forms - which are the incidental forms - function as habituais.

e.g. Kanyangwe ndinonyimpa zangu, handitsampe (Even though I am stunted, I am not annoyed.)

Kana ndinonwa hwahwa zangu, handidakwe (Even though I drink beer, I do not get drunk).

Kana zangu ndinosika, handizomuona (Even though I arrive, I don't then see him).

dayi ndinopenga, haungagare neni (If I were mad, you would not live with me).

Handina simba rakadaro saka ndinokoniwa (I have not such strength and so I am overcome).

In these examples the participial of form, e.g. ndicitora, would be more usual.

The habitual, forming a frequentative with formative -ci-, is used after conjunctives in the participial.

e.g. dayi ndinociuya kuno, waidayi ucindizisa (If I used to come here, you ought to know me).

dayi ndisingaciuya kuno, hawaindibvunza nzira (If I used not to come hither, you could not ask me the way).

No examples of participial present habituais in other aspects or implications have been noted.

695. b) The past tense.

As in the present habitual, only the forms for the simple implication, indefinite aspect have been noted.

Positive: ndaitora (I having been used to take)

ndaisatora (I not having been used to take)

696. Table of forms for the indicative present, incidental mode:

		Simple implication	Progressive implication	Exclusive implication
Indefinite aspect.	pos:	ndinotora	ndicatora	ndotora/ndocitora
	neg:	handitore	handicatora	handisati ndotora ndosatora ?
Continuous aspect.	pos:	ndiri kutora	ndiciri kutora	ndiri kucitora
	neg:	handiri kutora	handiciri kutora	handisati ndiri kutora
Perfect aspect	pos:	ndaneta	ndicakaneta	ndacineta
		ndakakora	ndicakakora	ndacikora
		ndauya	---	---
		ndava kutora	ndicave ku- tora	ndava kucitora
	neg:	ndigere	ndicigere	ndacigara
		handaneta ¹	handicakan- eta	handisati ndaneta
		handakakora	handicakakora	handisati ndakora
		handauya	---	handisati ndauya
		handava ku- tora	handicave ku- tora	handisati ndava kutora
		handigere	handicigere	handisati ndigere

Table of forms for the participial present, incidental mode:

		Simple implication	Progressive Implication	Exclusive implication
Indefinite aspect.	pos:	ndicitora	ndicatora	ndotora/ndocitora
	neg:	ndisingatore	ndisisatore ²	ndisati ndotora
Continuous aspect.	pos:	ndiri ku- tora	ndiciri kutora	ndiri kucitora
	neg:	ndisiri kutora	ndicisiri kutora	ndisati ndiri kutora
Perfect aspect.	pos:	ndaneta	ndicakaneta	ndacineta
		ndakakora	ndicakakora	ndacikora
		ndauya	---	---
		ndava ku- tora	ndicava ku- tora	ndava kucitora
	neg:	ndigere	ndicigere	ndacigara
		ndisaneta	ndisisa- kaneta	ndisati ndaneta
		ndisakakora	ndisisa- kakora	ndisati ndakora
		ndisauya	---	ndisati ndauya
		ndisava ku- tora	ndisisave kutora	ndisati ndava kutora
		ndisigere	ndisisa- kagara	ndisati ndigere

1. The more usual negatives - in the first three instances of this aspect and implication - are compound: viz. handina kuneta, handina kuuya, handina kukora.

2. In Ka. and Ma. the simple form and formative -ca- may be used, e.g. ndisingacatori; (I no longer taking).

5. The relative mood.

697. The characteristics of the relative predicate have already been treated under the treatment of the relative predicate. Cf. parr. 358-362.

The relative qualificative may consist of a predicative form alone,

e.g. murume anoshatirwa.. (the man who gets angry.);
or it may consist of a clause, the predicative core of the qualificative being extended to include an object or a descriptive.

e.g. Ishe anotonga nyika (The chief who rules the land);

Harawa anofamba nomudongo (The old man who walks
with a stick);

In either case the predicative has no longer a purely predicative function. The relative predicate, while remaining predicative and providing a focus for predicative relations in that it may be used with subject, object or descriptive, is qualificative as well, the over-all qualificative function including the predicative. This enlargement of function is marked by the relative predicate being in a special mood, viz. the relative mood.

The characteristics of this mood are the following:

In relative qualificatives of direct relation, the relative concord of direct relation, which is none other than the subject concord of the relative predicate, is uniformly low in tone. In other respects the relative predicate is identical with the indicative or potential forms in the positive and identical with the participial in the negative.

- e.g. Mpana anocema.. (The child who cries)
cp. Mpana anocema (The child cries)
np. Mpana angaceme.. (The child who can cry..)
cp. Mpana angaceme (The child can cry).
Mpana asingaceme.. (The child who does not cry..)
cp. Mpana asingaceme (A child not crying)

In relative qualificatives of indirect relation, the relative predicate is concordially related to the antecedent which it qualifies by a special concord. The predicate itself, both in cases of positive and negative indirect relation, is the same in form as the corresponding participials.

The subject concords of the relative predicates of indirect relation, both positive and negative, are, like those of the corresponding participials, high in tone.

e.g. mukomana wandīcaroḡa.. (The boy whom I shall beat..)

cp. ndīcaroḡa (I shall beat)

ndīcaroḡa (I being about to beat)

e.g. Iye ndiye munhu wandīsiḡgade (This is the person whom I do not want).

cp. ndīsiḡgade (I not wanting)

Since all the forms of the indicative and potential may be used in the positive relative of direct relation, and all the participial forms, save the present simple indefinite, e.g. ndīcitorḡa (I taking), in the negative relative and positive relative of indirect relation, there is no need to set out the relative mood at length.

698. The indirect relative as an adverbial of time or reason.

Two relative concords of indirect relation, viz. pa- and za-, are used with relative clauses of indirect relation in a conjunctive sense to mean, respectively 'when' and 'when' or 'since'. The total relative, made up of concord, functioning as a conjunctive, and the relative predicate with or without extensions, is a relative qualificative pronoun, there being usually no antecedent to the clause. This pronoun functions as an adverbial of time or manner.

e.g. Paḡakadzoka mḡana wakasara kumusha (When they went back, the child remained at home).

Zaakanga aciri pxere, aifudza mombe (When he was still a small child, he used to herd cattle).

Zandisingadye sadza, cindipa cimpe (Since I do not eat porridge, give me something else).

6. The potential mood.

699. The potential mood is a finite mood in which the relationship between subject and predicate is expressed as, at least, possible, but also, on occasion, as likely, probable or desirable. It is found in the positive and negative conjugations, but only in the present tense, simple implication, indefinite aspect. The potential present is found in the relative mood, present simple indefinite. Possible past or future action is expressed by the potential present of the deficient verb -dayi (say so, do so), followed by the complementary participials in the past or future. In Ma. the deficient verb -dano (sometimes -deno (say, do this here) may occasionally be heard instead of -dayi. The aspects and implications are similarly conveyed through participials complementary to the potential present of the deficient verb -dayi.

700. The positive potential, present tense.

This form is made up of the basic subject concord + the potential formative -nga- + the verb root + the terminative -e.

e.g. ndingatore (I can take)

Note that in Ka. and Ma. the terminative of the potential is -a, and that in Ka. and Ma. the form for the subject concord of the 3rd. person, class 1 is u-.

e.g. Nayi ndingafare cokwadi (Indeed I should be truly glad).

Zino paponio nhatu munhu angaise vose vana
pacikoro here? (Now at E3 can a person put
all his children to school?)

701. The negative potential, present tense.

This form is made up of the negative prefixal formative ha- + the basic subject concord + the verb root + the negative terminative which is -e in Ze., but -i in Ka. and Ma.

e.g. Handingatore (I cannot take)

Hauggandimbire ndikanzwa? (Can you not sing for me and I listen?)

The potential contains many ideas covered by different auxiliaries in English. Thus it may translate the following:

may (of possibility): e.g. Zimpe ndingauye (Perhaps I may come).

may (of permission): e.g. Ungaende zako (You may go (for your part))

can (of capability): e.g. Kana kwakasipa zako, ndingaende cete (Even though it be dark, I can, nevertheless go).

could (of conditional capability): e.g. dayi ndiciziba cizezuru, ndingacitaure (If I knew Zezuru, I could speak it).

dayi ndiinemari, ndingatenge momba mbiri (If I had the money I could buy two head-of-cattle).

might (of conditional ability): e.g. Angauye nguva yese yese (He might come at any time).

Angakubvumidze kana akafaranuka (He might allow you if he is in a good mood).

would (of conditional intention): e.g. dayi ndiinemari, ndingakubatsire (If I had the money, I would help you).

should (of obligation): e.g. Ungateerere zakanaka (You should listen well)!

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 270.

Tense combinations in the potential mood are made up of the deficient verb -dayi (do, say this) in the present potential, followed by a participial complement in the past, present or future.

e.g. ndingadayi ndicitora (I would be taking)

The simple potential, e.g. ndingatore (I can take) expresses the pure potentiality of taking. The compound form expresses that potentiality as conditional upon something else happening.¹ Since the potential is found only in the present, the following combinations are the only ones that occur:

the present - non-recent past:

e.g. ndingadayi ndakatora (I would have taken (before today))

the present - recent past:

e.g. ndingadayi ndatora (I would have taken (today))

the present - present:

e.g. ndangadayi ndicitora (I would be taking)

the present - future:

e.g. ndingadayi ndicatora (I would be about to take)

The tense referred to in these combinations is that of the participial complement.²

The implications and aspects are similarly embodied into the compound potential predicate - by way of the participial complement.

e.g. Ndingadayi ndiciri kutora (I would be still taking)

1. Cf. O'Neil, p. 117: "These are the forms used when we state a consequence without expressing the condition on which it depends, e.g. I should be glad (i.e. if you would do so)".

2. In Nguni, compound potential tenses are made up of an indicative deficient verb + participial potential complement. Hence the tense of these forms is indicated by the deficient verb, e.g.
(ngi)ḡe-ngingathanda (I could have loved)
(ngi)ḡe: deficient verb, positive indicative recent past tense, 1st. person singular of -ḡa (be).
ngingathanda: complement, positive potential participial present.

This form is the present potential of progressive implication and continuous aspect.

Ndingadayi ndicakaneta (I would still be tired).

This form is the present potential of progressive implication and perfect aspect.

Ndingadayi ndanga ndaneta (I would still have been tired)

This form is the past potential of simple implication and perfect aspect.

703. A form identical with the indicative habitual past is often used instead of the potential, especially to convey the idea of conditional intention (would). In English the auxiliary "would" is similarly used to indicate habitual and conditional action.

e.g. Zikoro munyika ino hazaimira kudayi kusina ruyamuro rwemari inobva kuHurumende (The schools in this country would not stand as they do without the assistance of the money which comes from the Government).

Ciyiko caizoitika kudayi tisingatere? (What would happen if we did not pay?)

Taigonzwa cando seyi tiri pamberi peHosi huru? (How would we be able to feel the cold while in the presence of the great Queen?)

Pasina-irwo (rukova) taipona seyi ? (Without it (the river) how would we survive?)

Taitocera matsime somurenje (We would just dig wells as (in) a desert).

In compound conditional predicates this form of the verb -dayi is also used as an alternative to the potential.¹

e.g. ndaidayi ndaenda (I would have gone)

cp. ndingadayi ndaenda (I would have gone).

Occasionally the copulative verb -nga (be) is used as an alternative to the deficient verb -dayi.

e.g. Iye wainge akaurayiwawo, dayi akanga arimo (He would also have been killed, had he been within).

704. The main uses of the compound potential forms are to indicate possible action in the past or future, (as has been seen from the examples given), and to render the apodoses or 'then' - clauses which follow after conditions which are unlikely or unrealisable.

1. Cf. O'Neil, pp. 118-9.

Examples of conditional sentences in which the potential forms appear:¹

Dayi ndiri mupfumi, ndingadayi ndicitenga mombe
zhinji (If I were rich, I would buy a lot of cattle).

dayi ndinebiza, mukoma wangu angadayi acilita shanje
(If I had a horse, my elder brother would be jealous).

Dayi wamuona, ungadayi waiteyi? (If you had seen him,
what would you have done?)

dayi ndakanga ndiripo, zingadayi zisina kuitwa izi (If I had been here, these (things) would not have happened).

Ndaive iye, ndaidayi ndavarambidza (Had I been he, I would have forbidden them).

dayi ndiri mmana wenyu, ndingadayi)
ndaidayi) ndokuperekedzayi (If I
ndingadaro) were your child, I
would now accompany
you).

Pasinewe, ndaidayi ndafa (Without you I would be dead).

Dayi ndaiwapo, maidayi makandiona (If I had been there,
you would have seen me).

dayi zisina kuwa saizozo, ndaidayi ndisina kugara pano
(If things had not been like this, I would not have
stayed here).

705. The potential may be used in the positive and negative relative. One example has been noted in the subjunctive.

e.g. the relative:

munhu angapinde (a person who can enter)

munhu asingapinde (a person who cannot enter)

In these examples of relatives of direct relation, the subject concords are low in tone. In the following examples of relatives of indirect relation, the subject concords are high. Thus there is no difference in form between the negative relative predicate of indirect relation based on the potential, and the negative relative present of indirect relation.

1. Cf. O'Neill, p.123; and Marconnes, par. 346. The above examples are taken from these places.

e.g. Basa randingaite (work which I can do)

Basa randisingaite (work which I cannot do)

or (work which I do not do)

The subjunctive:

Ari kutarisa kwese kwese kuti angawane waanoda (He is looking everywhere so that he can find what he wants).

With regard to the last example, the remarks made above about -nga being a deficient verb should be recalled.

Here the verb -nga should be regarded as being in the subjunctive and followed by the verb stem (which, in Ze. after potential -nga, ends in -e, but which, in Ka., is unchanged).

7. The subjunctive mood.

706. In the subjunctive mood, the relations between the subject and predicate is expressed as desired or aimed at.

The subjunctive is found in both conjugations, positive and negative. There are two tenses of the subjunctive, the present and the past, but no further distinctions of mode, implication or aspect are made save that between the simple and exclusive implication.

707. The positive subjunctive present.

This form is made up of the basic subject concord + verb root + terminative -e.

e.g. (kuti) nditore ((so that) I may take)

The present exclusive is formed by means of the exclusive infixed formative -ci-. In Ze. this acts as a deficient verb and absorbs the subjunctive terminative. It is thus followed by the simple verb stem.

e.g. Zakanaka kuti kudimurwa kwemombe kuciregerwa (It is good that the limitation of the cattle should be now stopped).

The present exclusive with formative -o- appears in the subjunctive without change.

e.g. ...kuitira kuti, candinege ndanzwa, ndozonyora (...to act so that, what I shall have heard, I then come to write).

708. The negative subjunctive present.

In Ze. and Ma. this form is made up of the basic subject concord + the negative infixal formative -sa- + the verb root + the terminative -e.

e.g. (kuti) ndisatore ((so that) I may not take)

In Ka. the negative infixal formative is -si- and the terminative is -i.¹

e.g. (kuti) ndisitori ((so that) I may not take)

709. The positive subjunctive past.

This form is made up of the basic concord + the formative -ka- + the verb stem.

e.g. (kudzimara) ndikatora ((until) I took)

710. The negative subjunctive past.

This form is made up of the basic subject concord + the formative -ka- + the negative infix -sa- + the verb stem.

e.g. (kudzimara) ndikasatora ((until) I did not take).

711. The uses of the subjunctive.

1) The present subjunctive is used in clauses after verbs indicative of desire or aim to render the action or state which is desired or aimed at. Such clauses may be introduced by the conjunctive kuti (in order that).

e.g. Ndisusukidze kuti ndigone kuşikira kuomora huci
(Lift me up so that I may be able to reach to
extract the honey).

Ndinoda kuti undisatsire (I want you to help me).

Ndiri kusevenga kuti ndiwane muşayiro (I am working
so that I may gain wages).

Mudaidze auye kuno (Call him (that) he come here).

Damupa mbuca kuti asafe nenzara (They gave him
food for the journey so that he might not die of
hunger).

Muzukuru, dayizi ndipinde! (Nephew, let me enter!)

As will have been observed, the present subjunctive is used in these clauses whatever be the tense of the principal verb.

1. Thus in Louw, p. 60. But other forms of Ka. appear to use negative infix -sa- without change of terminative.
e.g. (kuti) ndisada ((so that) I may not love).

Note that the infinitive is commonly used after verbs like -da (love, want) when the subject of the subordinate verb is the same as that of the principal. In this case the infinitive is the object of the principal verb and no reference to the subject of the subordinate action is needed.

e.g. Ndinoda kuziva (I want to know)

cp. Ndinoda kuti uziwe (I want you to know)

Ndinoda kudzokera kumba (I want to return home).

cp. Ndinoda kuti adzokere kumba (I want him to go home).

712. 2) The subjunctive is used as complement after certain deficient verbs of which one is used conjunctively, the others non-conjunctively.

The verb -dzimara (end by) used conjunctively.

The verb -dzimara (end by) and its allied forms (-dakara, -dzamara and -dzamarara) may, in its conjunctive use, be in the infinitive, the subjunctive or appear as a verb stem. When referring to present or future time, the conjunctive may be a stem, or may be in the infinitive or present subjunctive; it is followed by a present subjunctive. When referring to past time, the conjunctive may appear as a stem, an infinitive or a past subjunctive; when the conjunctive is a stem or infinitive it may be followed in this case by either a present or past subjunctive; when in the past subjunctive it is usually followed by a past subjunctive.

e.g. Mumba imomo munoberekwa vana kashoma kashoma
kudzimara)
vadzimare) vawande (In that house there are born
children little by little until
they are plentiful).

Mumba imomo makaberekwa vana kashoma kashoma
kudzimara vakawanda
vawande
(In that house were born children little by
little until they were plentiful).

Mumba imomo makaberekwa vana kashoma kashoma
vakadzimara vakawanda (In that house were born
children little by little until they were plentiful).

Ndakafamba kudzimara ndinete
kudzimara ndikaneta
ndikadzimara ndikaneta (I walked until
I was tired).

Deficient verb with subjunctive complement used non-conjunctively:

a) -ti (do) - of unfulfilled intention.

e.g. Ndiri kutoti ndizive muridzi waco (I am only attempting to know its owner)

Eere rakati riedze kupinda rikatadza (The hyena tried to enter but it failed).

b) -rega (allow)

e.g. Raga ndipinde (Let me enter)

713. 3) The subjunctive is used to render predicative forms consecutive to a main verb.

a) The present subjunctive is used after a preceding present subjunctive with which it is coordinate.

e.g. Kuti asaperekedze vabude murima vanange kucena
(So that he might accompany them and they emerge from the darkness and make towards the light).

Danga inogona kutumira nyoka kunomunhu kuti imurume afe
(The doctor can send a snake to a person so that it may bite him and he die).

Vanhu avo vacitsaga kuti vamuwanire manyepo vagomupa mhosa
(Those people seeking that they might find him in falsehoods and then be able to accuse him).

The last example includes a compound predicate in which the deficient verb + contracted infinitive prefix -go- (-gone + ku-) is in the subjunctive.

b) After the imperative, second and subsequent commands are rendered by the present subjunctive.

e.g. Jawa, kwira uomore huci! (Nightjar, climb up and extract the honey!)

Kwira usatadze kuomora huci! (Climb up and don't fail to extract the honey!)

c) Very occasionally the subjunctive present is used in consecutive forms after an initial indicative present or future.

e.g. Ndinoenda kundosakura, ndizobvisa ose masora ndisiye pasisina nemidzi kuti ndirege kuzosakura kakare
(I go to (go and) weed, and I then remove all the weeds and leave the place even without roots so that I may not come and weed again).

Zamusingacirega kufundisa vanhu wangu, ndicatikinura-tikinura dzimba dzenyu ndidzingondomese ndikutandeyi (Since you do not yet leave off teaching my people, I will beat down your houses and destroy them and chase you away).

d) More often the present subjunctive of the deficient verb -go- is used to render the consecutive forms, -go- is derived from -gona (be able) and incorporates the contracted infinitive prefix of its complement.

e.g. Ndati, "Unofika mbambaira ugodya ugopawo mpana adyewo (I said, "You cook the sweet potato and you eat and you give also to the child that he eat too).

The sense behind the Shona is probably the following:

"You cook the sweet potato so that you may be able to eat so that you may be able to give also to the child so that he may eat too" -

each action in the series being aimed at and, at the same time, made possible by what has gone before.

e.g. Munhu anoteura anenge ari pakati pehama dzake, anopfugama pamberi agoteura kumudzimu (A person who sacrifices while in the midst of his relatives, kneels in front that he may sacrifice to the ancestor, spirit).

714. e) The past subjunctive is sometimes used as a consecutive form after an indicative present or future.

This is so particularly in Ka.

e.g. Iwe mukomana zaunapasikana vasiri vawakaruma, ucazovawana vose ukadzokera kutsika dzamateteguru ako? (You, young man, since you have two girls whom you have pledged, will you marry them both and return to the customs of your fore-fathers?)¹

Zirokwazo ndinoti kwamuri acazisunga ciuno iye akavagarisa pakudya akavuya akavashandira. (Truly I tell you he will gird his loins and make them sit down to eat and he will come and will serve them).²

In Ze. the present exclusive is more common after indicative presents and futures than the past subjunctive.

f) After the indicative past, after the potential and certain forms of absolute negation, the past subjunctive is used. In consecutive past forms the past subjunctive of the deficient verb -go- (be in a position to) is often

1. Mhuri yoMukristu, p.12. Morgenster, 1944.

2. Testamente itsa, Luke 12/37b. B. + F. Bible Society, 1941

used with contracted infinitive complement. The past subjunctive exclusive is also used.

e.g. Ndiyo yatishura tikasaona mhuka (It is it which brought us bad luck and we saw no game - viz. so that we saw no game).

Takafamba masikati tikacisika husiku (We travelled by day and then arrived at night).

Mhembge wakasedera munyasi megucu raTsuro akanyika munwe mugucu raTsuro, akagonanza munwe wake, akagopamidza, akanzwa kunaka, mate ndoku-serekana dama shutu, zikacinzi naMhembge: "Nayika Tsuro, muzukuru, wati zinodiyiwa napakuru vakasugwa?" (Duiker sidled up near Hare's calabash and put his finger in Hare's calabash, and he then licked his finger, and he then repeated (this), and he tasted the niceness, and his saliva flooded his cheek full, and this was then said by Duiker: "I say, Hare, nephew, did you say that this is eaten by elders who are tied up?")

Damge vakati: "Ndiye", asi vampe vakaciti: "Kwete, asi wakafanana naye" (Some said: "It is he", but others then said: "No, but he is like to him").

Zawakagadzwa hushe, handina kuuya nikašikokutendayi ndiakapfugama? (When you were installed in the kingship, did I not come and arrive and acknowledge you kneeling?)

After the potential:

e.g. Hapana angamutandaniše akamubata (There is no one who can chase him and catch him).

Angabva aomera pakarepo akabva ava cipapata (He would forthwith dry up on the spot and forthwith become a dry cinder).

Kana mukadzana kaviri, miawe yenyu ingadzokeze mukaita makudo pakare (If you dance twice, your tails may come back again and you become baboons again).

After negation:

e.g. Hapana anodya sadza iri akaripedza (There is no one who eats this porridge and finishes it).

Munhu haagone kušika bagidi rimpe rehwhwa akaripedza wega (A person cannot cook one bucket of beer and finish it himself).

715. 4) Polite orders, requests and prohibitions are conveyed by the subjunctive present.

e.g. Mundipe cokudya (Please give me food).
Musavakwazise (Do not greet them)
Usandinetse (Do not bother me)

Orders involving the 1st. or 3rd. persons may be examples of this function of the subjunctive.

e.g. Uaende zaoo (Let them go)
Tirege kunyepa, ticiti: "Ndaroyiwa" (Let us stop lying, saying "I have been bewitched").

Alternatively they may be explained as hortatives without the hortative formative. In this case the imperative function of the subjunctive would apply only to the 2nd. person.

716. Whatever these forms may be, viz. subjunctives with subject concords of the 1st. or 3rd. person used with imperative or hortative intent, or shortened hortatives they are sometimes used to express conditions.

e.g. Munhu wapi anoti akarayirwa otsemga, unyengetedzwe woshatirwa, utukwe wocema (What sort of a person is it who, if he is ordered becomes sulky, if he is persuaded (lit. let him be persuaded) gets angry, if he is scolded (lit. let him be scolded) cries?)

Note that the first condition in this sentence is expressed by the past subjunctive (akarayirwa (if he be ordered)), the second and the third (unyengetedzwe (if he be persuaded) utukwe (if he be scolded)) are in the present subjunctive (or hortative minus the hortative formative).

e.g. Apiwe zimpe anongoparadza, adotengerwa, zakasimba anongosakadza (If he be given (let him be given) others, he just wastes (them), let him be bought strong things, he just wears (them) out).

Munhu ari^{wapi} anodya, anozipfekedza, anoda zivaraidzo, ararwe anoda mishonga (Every person eats, clothes himself, wants relaxation, if he be laid up he wants medicine).

Mandicimbidzikira auye, ziva zinoreca vakuru, muhereki waMandinonoke (Let More-haste (lit. You hurried for me) come, know what the old people say, it is the parent of Less-speed (lit. You dallied (for) me)).

717. 5) Questions which are deliberative or deferential to another's wishes are in the subjunctive.

e.g. Ticere mose mvura here? (Are we both to draw water?)

Tipinde here? (Are we to enter?)

Ndipinde napapi? (Where am I to enter by?)

Apinde here? (Is he to come in?)

718. The past subjunctive.

The form which I have termed the past subjunctive has been termed the past participle¹ or the consecutive form.² It is used widely in all dialect groups as a consecutive form after the indicative past tenses. In this it agrees with the subjunctive past of Nguni and Sotho. But it is also used after the potential and, less often, after indicative presents and futures.

It is also used after the deficient verb -dzimara (end by) when this refers to past time - a use which is similarly reminiscent of the past subjunctive of Nguni and Sotho as used in complements of deficient verb in the past tenses. But, in Shona, the past subjunctive in this context is frequently replaced by the present subjunctive.

e.g. Iyi hondo yakava yekugumisira kurwa kwaMakoni naMutasa kudakara kusike maMgezi (This war was the last in the fighting of Makoni and Mutasa until there arrived the English).

Ndizo maguwu akaBata Basa rekuBayira waMambo mhuka makore ese kudakara kukasika maMgezi munyika ino (And so the gun-hunters did the work of killing game for the chiefs every year until there came the English in this land).

The third use of the past subjunctive has not yet been mentioned. It is to render realisable conditions referring to the future, ~~without~~ or without a conjunctive.³

e.g. Ukauya kwandiri (If you come to me).

Ukasauya kwandiri (If you don't come to me)

Ouya tiyende kumusha kwako uwondiceke uone kuti ukavona mpyo wangu (Come let us go to your home and you go and cut me and see if you see my heart).

Ndinoziva zandinoita kuti ndikakwanisa kusika iyo (I know what I will do if I manage to reach there).

1. O'Neil, p.33; Doke in African Studies, Vol. 9. No. 1, March 1950, p.11.

2. Louw, p.73.

3. For more examples, cf. O'Neil, p.122(a).

regarded as functioning as a plural interjective.¹

e.g. *Ogatitiyi jeje naye!* (Let us do the same as him!)

Ogaatempeyi musoro! (Let him be beheaded - you people!)

Ogaatempeyi musoro ! (Let them be beheaded - you people!)

Other examples of the hortative:

e.g. *Ogandiende ndomene kuti ndinyatsonzwa zaanondidanira*
(Let me go myself so that I may well understand what he is calling me for).

Musha ngaukomberwe nemikoronga (Let the village be surrounded by trenches).

Izi ngaziitwe (Let these things be done).

Formative ha- (which has a high tone in distinction to the negative prefixal formative with low tone) is the same in function and meaning as nga-

e.g. *Handiende* (Let me go)

Note the contracted form: handeyi (let us go)

op. *hatiendeyi* (let us go)

Examples of negative hortatives:

e.g. *Ogavasatambe* (Let them not dance)

Ogandisaone (Let me not see)

Ogandisiuuyi (Let me not come)² Ka.

721. An exclusive implication of the hortative is formed by infixing the exclusive formative -ci-. In such exclusives the terminative is not -e but -a, the formative -ci- being considered as a deficient verb in the hortative and followed by the positive or negative stem as complement.

e.g. *Haticienda zedu* (Let us be off now)
Haticitaurayi! (Let us talk now!)

It is possible that the following examples are hortatives with the hortative formatives omitted. Cf.

par. 715

e.g. *Daende zavo* (Let them go).
Tiende tese (Let us go together).

1. Cp. the predicative kwaziwa (there has been come) which has also acquired an interjective function, e.g. *kwaziwa!* (hail!), *kwaziwayi!* (hail to ye!)

2. Cf. Louw, p. 60.

THE VERB (continued)

THE COMPOUND PREDICATE

722. The compound predicate, in its simplest form, is a sequence of two predicates united in one predicative whole. Of these two predicates the first is the deficient verb, the second a complement which, in Shona, is usually verbal, but which may be copulative.

e.g. Ndanga ndatora (I had taken, I was I having taken)

Ndiri kutora (I am taking, lit. I am to take or taking)

Ava ndiye baba womukadzi (He has become the father of the woman, lit. He has become it is he the father of the woman)

In the first example the deficient verb is ndanga (was), in the second it is ndiri (I am), and in the third it is ava (He has become). All three deficient verbs are, as it happens, copulative verbs meaning 'be' or 'become', but it is not necessary to ^{the} compound predicate that the deficient verb be a copulative verb. The complement of the first example is a verbal participial ndatora (I having taken), that of the second is an infinitive, kutora (to take, taking), while that of the third is an impersonal copulative ndiye¹ (It is he). Compound predicates of the type in the first example have already been set out in the tense combinations. Those of the type found in the second example have figured in the implications and aspects of the basic conjugation.

723. In the compound predicate, the deficient verb is syntactically the more important of the two components, and bears the mood and tense of the total predicate.

1. It is not certain whether this is indicative or participial. Cf. par. 741.

Semantically, however, it is incomplete and coordinate to the complement, which signifies what is the action or state. Thus the complement is the component which embodies the object concord and usually, in Shona, the conjugational, implication and aspect formatives which, however, apply to the predicate as a whole.

- e.g. *Ndanga ndamutora* (I had taken him)
- Ndanga ndisingatore* (I was not taking)
- Ndanga ndicatora* (I still took)
- Ndanga ndaguta* (I was replete)

Semantically, the deficient verb adds to the complement notions which are often descriptive, the main verbal concept being supplied by the complement. Compare the following compound predicates with identical complement:

- Ndanga ndaenda* (I had gone)
- Ndabva ndaenda* (I thereupon went)

724. The large class of deficient verbs may be divided into sub-classes on the basis of the kind of complement with which they are used. Complements are of the following types in Shona.¹

- A) The verb stem: e.g. *ndingatora* (I can take)
- B) The infinitive: e.g. *ndava kutora* (I am in the state of taking)
- C) The infinitive with contracted prefix: e.g. *ndazotora* (I came to take)
- D) The participial in full range e.g. *ndanga ndatora* (I had taken)
ndanga ndicitora (I was taking)
ndanga ndicatora (I was about to take)
- E) The participial in restricted range: e.g. *ndadzoka ndotora* (I unexpectedly took)
- F) The relative: e.g. *ndange ndatora* (I seemed to have taken)
- G) The subjunctive: e.g. *ndinoti nditore* (I try to take)

1. In the following examples, the complement is underlined.

- H) The personal copulative
participial: e.g. ndanga niinebanga (I had
a knife)
- I) The personal copulative
relative: e.g. Ndange ndinebanga (I seemed
to have a knife)
- J) The impersonal
copulative: e.g. anova ndiye mambo (he is
the king)

Certain deficient verbs are used with more than one type of complement but, usually, the nature of the complement assumed by any deficient verb is closely determined, the sequence being of a definite kind and uninterrupted by any intervening word.

725. It is, of course, possible for the complement to be itself a deficient verb with its own complement. In fact, a compound predicate may include four or five verb stems, the first being the deficient verb of the compound predicate as a whole, and each of the others being successively complements to the verb preceding.

e.g. Ndanga ndiri kutora (I was still taking),
where the deficient verbs are -nga and -ri.

e.g. Ndanga ndisati ndiri kutora (I was not yet taking),
where the deficient verbs are -nga, -ti and -ri.

e.g. Tinotozococuka cete tava kurwara, muviri
usisinamba. (We just come to remember when we
are in a state of sickness and our body no longer
with strength)

where the deficient verbs, all incorporating a contracted infinitive prefix, are -no-, -to- and -zo-.

Most deficient verbs are fully conjugated but a few are defective, e.g. -ri. Most deficient verbs have also an independent and non-deficient function in addition to the deficient.

The compound predicate appears as a unity both morphologically and semantically. From the morphological standpoint we have the two components and the constant manner of their association which varies according to each sub-species of deficient verb. From the semantic standpoint we have the incomplete, yet complementary, predication of the two components, added to the fact that

in compound predicates some deficient verbs of otherwise independent existence acquire specialised meaning proper to their deficient verbal function.

In the treatment that follows, the independent function of each verb will be noticed and, if necessary, treated at some length before the deficient function.

726. A) Deficient verbs used with verb stems.

Evidence for the view that

the mood formatives: -nga- of the potential,
-ka- of the past subjunctive,

the tense formatives: -a- and -ka- of the recent and non-recent past,

the aspect formatives: -a- and -ka- of the perfect,
identical with the tense formatives,

the implication formatives: -o- and -ci- of the exclusive,

and the mode formative: -i- of the past habitual

are basically deficient verbs, used with a verb stem, positive or negative, as complement, was given in the section dealing with the conjugation formatives. Cf. parr. 548, 551, 555, 556, 558, 559, 565.

One other such verb may be mentioned. It is the verb -na used in Ma. with verb stems. It is confined to the 2nd. person, singular and plural, to express obligation or in giving advice.

e.g. unatora (you should take)

munatora (you should take)

All the above forms are, of course, defective.

727. B) Deficient verbs used with infinitive complements.

These verbs are: 1) -ri (be)

2) -na (be)

3) -va (become)

728. 1) -ri in non-deficient function.

The copulative verb -ri is a defective verb being used only in the following forms:

the indicative, participial and relative forms of the positive and negative present, simple and progressive.

729. The indicative simple.

In general the verb -ri is not used without substantival or adverbial complements. In the positive indicative and positive relative of direct relation, the verb -ri is not used in the 3rd. person, save with an adverbial complement. Impersonal copulatives are used instead. No formative is used in the simple implication.

e.g. Ndiri muŕiki (I am a cook)

Uri mŕana cete (You are only a child)

Iŕu tiri vaRozi, tinoyera moyo (We are Rozi, we venerate the heart).

cp. Avo vaRozi vanoyera moyo¹ (They are Rozi who venerate the heart).

With adverbial complements:

Ari mumba make (He is in his house)

Imbga iri papi? (Where is the dog?)

Imbga iri pandamboiona (The dog is where I first saw it)

Ciri coga (It is different)

Ziri nani (It is better)

Pari nani kupinda kwatabva (Here is better than where we came from).

In the negative the infixal formative -si-² may be used in the simple implication in addition to the prefixal negative formative ha-, but it is not essential.

e.g. (Handiri muŕiki
(Handisiri muŕiki (I am not a cook)

(Haari mumba
(Haasiri mumba (He is not in his house)

(Haari muŕiki
(Haasiri muŕiki (He is not a cook)

1. In this example, vaRozi is an impersonal copulative with high tone on the prefix. For the formation of impersonal copulatives, cf. parr. 851-870.
2. In Ka., and frequently in Ze., this is -zi-.

Mwana uyu haasiri wako, ndowangu (This child is not yours, it is mine).
 Jojo haasiri muRozi, muMbire (Jojo is not a Rozi, it is a Mbire (he is)).

732. The participial.

In the participial positive, no formative is used with -ri, the formative -ci- being progressive. In the negative, the negative infix -si- is used. The progressive formative -ci- is frequently assimilated to -si- in the negative.

e.g. Zaciri cinhu cakanaka .. (Since it is a good thing..)
 Kanapo iri mbava.. (Even though he be a thief..)

The participial of -ri with nominal or adverbial complement is found as the complement of the deficient verb -gga in various tense combinations.

e.g. Ndanga ndiripo (I was here)
 Ndanga ndiciri mwana (I was still a child)
 Ndanga ndisiripo (I was not here)
 Ndanga (ndicisiri mwana
 (ndisisiri mwana (I was no longer a child)

Other examples:

e.g. Wakaedza kundiuraya, ini ndisiri mumba (He tried to kill me, I not being at home).

kuri nhasi (nowadays)

ndokudya nyama ziri ziviri (and they ate the meat, both of them)

Kudaro yeukayi kuti nhasi unorugare asi mangwana kunofuma iri nhamo; hezo nhasi nhamo, mangwana kunofuma ruri rugare (And so remember that today you have peace but tomorrow it will dawn there being trouble; and so today trouble, tomorrow it will dawn there being peace).

733. The relative.

The forms for the positive relative of indirect relation and the negative relative, both of direct and indirect relation, are those of the positive and negative participials respectively.¹ The form for the positive direct relative is that of the positive indicative. The positive relative of direct relation is not used with 3rd. person subject concords, there being no corresponding indicative forms.²

1. But the tone of the subject concords of the negative direct relative is low.

2. Instead, the compound predicate consisting of the

deficient verb -ua (become) in the relative, followed by an impersonal copulative with absolute pronominal stem agreeing in class with the antecedent, is used.

e.g. Muti uyu unosa ndiwo muti wakanaka (This tree which is a good tree).

e.g. Ndini ndiri muſiki (It is I who am a cook).

Ndiye asiri muſiki (It is he who is not a cook).

Nzira yatiri (The path in which we are).

Nyika yatisiri (The country in which we are not).

The negative relative, with the basic stem of the absolute pronoun agreeing with the antecedent as complement, is frequently used to render the idea of 'wrong, incorrect'.

e.g. nzira isiſiyo (the wrong path, the path which is not it).
mukadzi asiriye (the wrong wife)

The relative qualificative pronoun zisirizo functions as an adverb of manner meaning 'in the wrong manner, the wrong way'.

734. An exception to the rule that -ri is always used with a complement is the relative of indirect relation incorporating -ri as the verb.

e.g. Uya kuno kwatiri (Come here where we are)

Gara pandiri (Stay by me)

Dasigaziwe cauari (Not knowing of what (custom) they are)

Inozotitsautsa munzira caiyo yatiri (It will separate us from the true way in which we are).

735. -ri as a deficient verb.

The verb -ri is used as a deficient verb in the same conjugations, moods and tense as in non-deficient function. It is used with an infinitive complement, which is usually positive, but which may be negative. The compound predicate, formed of the deficient verb -ri and the infinitive complement, supplies the continuous aspect of the conjugation.

The indicative continuous indefinite:

Positive: ndiri kutora (I am taking)

Negative: handiri kutora
Handisiri kutora (I am not taking)

The participial and relative forms of the above:

e.g. the participial as ndagga ndiri kutora (I was taking)
complement in the ndagga ndisiri kutora (I was
past continuous: not taking)

the relative:

e.g. Nini ndiri kutora (It is I who am taking)
Nini ndisiri kutora (It is I who am not taking)
Munhu wandiri kuda (A person whom I am loving)
Munhu wandisiri kuda (A person whom I am not loving)

Further examples:

e.g. Iyi tsika iri kutangisa kupera munyika ino (This
custom is beginning to die out in this country).

Hurumende hairi kuona kutambudzika kwavanhu vatema
(The Government is not seeing the suffering of the
black people).

(with negative infinitive)

Ndiri kusatora (I am not taking)

736. The progressive implication of the continuous
aspect is formed in all moods by infixing the formative
-ci-. This, in the negative, may be assimilated to -si-
by the negative infix which is usually present.

e.g. Indicative present progressive continuous:

Positive: ndiciri kutora (I am still taking)

Negative: (handiciri kutora (I am no longer taking)
(handicisiri kutora
(handisisiri kutora

The participial forms of the above are:

Positive: ndiciri kutora (I being still taking)

Negative: ndicisiri kutora (I no longer taking
ndisisiri kutora)

The relative:

Positive: ndiciri kutora (I who am taking)

Negative: ndicisiri kutora
ndisisiri kutora (I who am not taking)

737. 2) The deficient verb -na.

The deficient verb -na is used with an infinitive
complements - in the negative with an infinitive complement
of uncontracted prefix and in the positive with an
infinitive of contracted prefix. It may be doubted whether

However, in these negative forms, the verb -ri is frequently omitted. When it is omitted, the formative -si- (or -zi-) is usually present.¹

e.g. Haasi rema (He is not a fool).

Haasi mudiki (He is not a small one).

Mambo haasi anoita ziyi zaanoda? (Is not the King
he who does what he likes?)

Haazi mambo (He is not chief).

Handisiⁿⁱ (It is not I; lit. I am not I).

Hadzizidzo (It is not they (10)).

730. The indicative progressive:

The progressive formative used with -ri is -ci-. In the negative this is frequently assimilated to -si- by the negative infix, which, as in the simple implication, may or may not be present.

e.g. Ndiciri mpana (I am still a child)

Handiciri mpana)
Handicisiri mpana) (I am no longer a child)
Handisisiri mpana)

As in the case of the simple implication, the verb -ri in these negative forms may be omitted, the formative -si- usually remaining.

e.g. Handisisi mpana (I am no longer a child).

Haasisipo (He is no longer here).

This implication may be used in enquiring after a person's health.

e.g. Amai vaciripo here? (Is your mother still here?
viz. Is your mother still well?)
Ee, vapenyu zavo (Yes, it is a live person as for
her; viz. Yes, she is well).

731. Compare the negative and positive forms in which the 3rd. person is involved as singular. In the negative the verb -ri may be used; in the positive an impersonal copulative expression.

e.g. Hausiri muswe wako, ndowangu (It is not your tail,
it is mine).

1. Save when the complement is an enclitic locative demonstrative functioning as an adverb. e.g. haamo (he is not in); haapo (he is not here). These forms I have classified among the personal copulatives. Cf. par. 879.

719. The present subjunctive has been instanced above as also expressing conditions. Cf. par. 716. It is possible that what we have in this function of what I have called the past subjunctive, is not strictly the past subjunctive, but a present subjunctive, perfect aspect.

e.g. Ukandirakidza mbada kwairi (If you show me where the leopard is; viz. If you have shown me where the leopard is)

Kana mombe dzikarasika (If the cattle are lost, get lost).

If this is so, the form, e.g. ndikatora, is both past indefinite ((and) I took, etc.) and present perfect ((if) I have taken), just as the indicative past, e.g. ndauya may be both past indefinite and present perfect, (I came or I am come).

This may throw light upon the cases where present and past subjunctive forms have been presented as unaccountable variables. Thus, after the deficient verb -dzimara, the complements of past form may be the perfect aspect in every case; the past forms found in consecutive narrative, where the tense is present, may be subjunctive present perfects.

8. The hortative mood.

720. The hortative mood is a sub-mood of the subjunctive since it is constructed of the hortative ^{formative} nga- or ha- + the positive or negative subjunctive present.

e.g. Ngatipindure moyo wake (Let us change his heart)

Ngatiende (Let us go)

The plural suffix -yi is often, but not necessarily, used in the 1st. person, plural. In Shona it does not seem to have any such definite function as to distinguish a dual from a plural. It is also used in the 3rd. person singular and plural. In these cases the hortative is

this verb has a non-deficient function, -na elsewhere being, in all probability, the conjunctive formative.¹

With an infinitive complement of uncontracted prefix, deficient verb -na is used to form the negative past in the indicative, participial and relative moods. Like the verb -ri it is found in both simple and progressive implications.

e.g. Indicative simple:

handina kutora (I did not take)²

Participial simple:

ndisina kutora (I not having taken)

Relative simple:

ndisina kutora (I who have not taken)

The progressive forms are:

(handicina kutora
(handicisina kutora
(handisisina kutora (I no longer took)

(ndicisina kutora (I no longer having taken)
(ndisisina kutora (I no longer having taken)

(ndicisina kutora
(ndisisina kutora (I who no longer took)

With inchoative verb stems the simple forms are negative perfect, e.g. handina kuneta (I am not tired)

738) 3) The verb -va (become).

The verb -va is not defective being fully conjugated and widely used in non-deficient function. In its past and future forms it is used with conjunctive adverbials to indicate possession.

e.g. ndaive nembga (I used to have a dog)
ndicava nembga (I shall have a dog)

1. Note that conjunctive adverbials - viz. adverbial formed of the conjunctive formative+stem, function as copulative stems, e.g. ndineŋanga (I am with a knife). When the subject concord in such copulatives is a locative concord of class 16, 17, or 18, formative na seems to become purely copulative. E.g. panemvura (here is water): cp. Nyanja: pali madzi (here is water). It may be that the formatives in the present habitual (e.g. ndinotora), the negative past (handina kutora) and the Ma. compound hortative form (e.g. unatora) are all the conjunctive formative in origin but used with copulative verbal function in these compound predicates. Cf. also the Ka. negative past: haazani akawuya (he did not come).
2. Cp. Chikunda: ndilibe kuenja (I did not go) where -li is a copulative verb and -be a negative suffix.

This verb, both in its non-deficient use and as a deficient verb, appears sometimes as -pe, less often as -oo.¹

e.g. Yaive nzara huru (There was a great famine).

Waikarocopo? (Were you perhaps there?)

Ndaiva mucece, ndava mukuru (I used to be a small child, I have become a big person).

-va is an inchoative verb; hence the recent past form is the present perfect aspect.

e.g. Tava uanhu (We have become, are people)

739. As a deficient verb, -va is used with infinitives to form a perfect aspect of action. This is found in the simple, progressive and exclusive implications.

e.g. The simple implication:

positive indicative: ndava kutora (I am in the state of taking)

positive participial: ndava kutora (I ^{being} am in the state of taking)

negative indicative: handava kutora (I am not in the state of taking)

negative participial: ndisava kutora (I not being in the state of taking)

The progressive implication:

positive indicative: ndicava kutora (I still am in the state of taking)

positive participial: ndicava kutora (I still being in the state of taking)

negative indicative: handicava kutora (I am no longer in the state of taking)

negative participial: ndisisave kutora (I being no longer in the state of taking)

The exclusive implication:

positive indicative: ndava kucitora (I am now in the state of taking)

positive participial: ndava kucitora (I being now in the state of taking)

negative indicative: handisati ndava kutora (I am not yet in the state of taking)

negative participial: ndisati ndava kutora (I being not yet in the state of taking)

1. Cf. Marconnes, par. 303, Cp. the alternative forms in Sotho, viz. -bo, -ba and -be. Cf. par. 62, Alternation.

740. Many deficient verbs which, in Ze., are used with an infinitive complement with contracted prefix, viz. verbs in which the terminative coalesces with the vowel of the prefix of the infinitive, the consonant being elided, are followed in Ma., and some Ka., dialects by a full infinitive. The following are taken from Louw, p. 82.

Cimbidzika kuuya (Come quickly); op. Ze. Cimbidzouya	
Unwanza kuuya (He often comes)	Ze. Anowanzouya
Natsa kupfuma hazu (Sew the clothes well)	Ze. Nyatsosona hanzu
Unonyanya kureša (He is exceedingly tall)	Ze. Anonyanyoreša
Ukadzi vasana kugadzira imba (The women meanwhile prepared the house).	Ze. Ukadzi vasano-badzira imba

741. C) Deficient verbs used with infinitive complements of contracted prefix.

In this type of deficient verb, the terminative -a, -i or -e, depending on the conjugation or mood, coalesces with the vowel u of the prefix of a following infinitive complement, the intervening consonant k being elided. The vowel -o- is the result of the coalescence.

e.g. Wasikoona (He saw on arrival; he arrived and saw)
Wasika + kuona.

742. In some cases of monosyllabic deficient verbs of this type, there has been elision of certain syllables of the verb itself.

e.g. the deficient verbs + contracted infinitive prefix:

- go-, derived from -gona + ku- (be able to);
- to-, probably derived from -ita + ku- (do..);
- ndo-, derived from -enda + ku- (go and);
- no-, abbreviated form of -ndo-;
- mbo-, probably derived from -vamba + ku- (begin and).

743. The verbs of this class are not defective. It may be taken that the following verbs are fully conjugated

qua deficient verbs of this class.¹

744. The process whereby terminatives + ku- (the infinitive prefix) have coalesced to form vowel -o- has not proceeded to such lengths in Ma. and even in Ka. as it has in Ze. In Ma. it is rare to find an example of a disyllabic or polysyllabic deficient^{vL/b} of this kind. In these dialect-groups such verbs are followed by full infinitives.²

e.g. Ma. Natesa kutaura! (Speak well!)

cp. Ze. Nyatsotaura! (Speak well!)

Ma. Handinatsi kutaura (I do not speak well)

Ze. Handinyatsotaura (I do not speak well).

Most of the monosyllabic deficient verbs of this class are found in all dialect-groups.

In the treatment that follows, verbs, when being treated as deficient, will be quoted together with the contracted infinitive prefix which they include. Thus the deficient verb -enda (go) will be given as -ndo-, the deficient verb -cimbidza (hurry) as -cimbidzo- etc.

745. 1) -NO-

-NO- is derived from -na + the prefix ku- of a complementary infinitive.

This verb, when used with contracted infinitive complement, as noted already in the section on the formatives, is practically a present tense formative. It is only found in constructions involving a subject concord and a contracted infinitive complement to form:

the present habitual: e.g. ndinotora (I generally take)

the present incidental: e.g. ndinotora (I take)

the future: e.g. ndinotora (I shall take)

1. As an example of the full conjugation of a deficient verb qua talis, examples of the verb -zo- (come and) are given in all moods.
2. Cf. par. 740. Louw, p.82.

the present habitual:

e.g. Ndinorima mazuva ose (I plough every day).

the present incidental:

e.g. Kana aciuya kana asinga uye ndinoenda zangu
(Whether he comes or not, I go; viz. I'm off).

the future:

e.g. Ndinoenda masikati (I shall go at noon).

746. Thus, in its capacity as tense or mode formative, in combination with other deficient verbs, -no- always takes the first place. Frequent combinations of deficient verbs of this type are the following:

- nondo- Asi onayi, ndinondokutorerayi vanhu vacena
(But see, I shall go and get the white people for you).
- nongo- Tinongopiwa zisadza zakaipa (We are just given rotten porridge).
- nombo- Dzinombopiwa nguva yokukandirira mumba mazai
(They are first given time to lay their eggs in the house).
- nozo- Kana mukapinda mumba inohuyani, munozoona musina nhunzi (If you enter a house which is clean, you come to see it without flies).
- notozo- Tinotozocetuka cete tava kurwara (We just come to remember when we were sick).
- nogo- Unogouya kumusha mauro ndinomutuma kuteya riva rokuſata makonzo (You can come to the village in the evening and I shall send him to set a trap to catch rats).

747. 2) -zo-

-zo- is derived from -za + the prefix ku- of a complementary infinitive. The verb -za (come) is not used non-deficiently in Central Shona. It survives in a few names, e.g. Muza-nenhamo (One who comes with misfortune).

As a deficient verb, the verb -zo- signifies

that the complement is a sequel. Yet when used with the deficient verb -no- and the future formative -ca-, it often functions as a future tense formative.

748. The verb -zo- may be used as an example of the full conjugation of a deficient verb with contracted infinitive complement. Examples of this verb will be given in all conjugations and moods.

The infinitive.

Wanga uciiteyi kuzorowa? (What were you doing to come to be beaten?)

Ini ndatouya kuzokupayi zokudya (As for me, I have just come to give you some food).

In the infinitive, -zo- appears in the conjunctive kuzoti (then, when).

In the infinitive with contracted prefix.

Kuti mugozozilwa mutowo wokucengeta mwana (So that you may come to know the way of looking after a child).

Tikamuuraya, tiggagozonziyiko naiye Hurumende (If we kill him, what may then be said of us by the Government itself?)

In the imperative.

Izondishayira rimpe zuwa! (Come and see me one day!)

Olzorara! (Come now and sleep!)

The indicative:

Present: Kana mukapinda mumba inohuyani, munozoona musina-nhunzi (If you enter a house which is clean, you then see no flies inside - or, you will see no flies inside).

Future: Zaciri cinhu cakanaka, dayi cikangoberoka micero yakanaka, ticazoona vampe vaRungu vemapurazi voziita (Since it is a good thing, if it just bear good fruits, we shall then see other European farmers doing it).

Handicazoziona (I shall not see them).

Past: Ukazomunyepera kunamambo (They then told lies about him to the chief).

The potential.

Ndingazouya musi wecishanu (I may come on Friday).

Rega kufamba woga, ungazodyiwa (Don't travel alone, you may come to be beaten).

The participial:

..acizobasununggura huranda hwabo (...coming and setting them free from their slavery).

..ndokubva bazondogara zabo nezipfuwo (...and straightway they then went and sat down with the animals).

The relative.

Nezo wakaramba ari mumba acimirira zicazoitika (And so he remained in the house waiting for what would befall).

Cinhu candisingazombokanganwa (A thing which I will never forget).

The subjunctive.

Pinda zako, shamgari, uzomboravira cete mvura iyi iri muno inotonorera kwazo (Go in, friend, and then first just taste the water in here which is very cool).

Kuti azoriurayira mombe (So that he might come and kill an ox for it).

Musazomboyedza kuti bifu, muciti tirwe nawacena (You must not even begin to say a word intending to fight with the Europeans).

..akadzimara akazozika kumba kwake (...until he came to arrive at his house).

The hortative.

Hatizombocifunga cipo ico (Let us come first to consider that gift).

749. -ZO- is used in the infinitive after the verb -uya (come) when the latter is expressive of purpose or aim.

e.g. Tauya kuzokukwazisayi (We have come to greet you).

750. -ZO- is frequently found in the following combinations:

- tozo- Ndokuramba wongocienda nesangoro varasika;
vakatozo-waniwa navampe vanhu vaivima zao
(And she continued just going on through that
veld, lost; she was barely found by some
people who were hunting).
- dozo- Dadzimal vaye, vacidozoti meso kwakareko tse..
(Then that woman, eagerly casting her eyes
in the same direction..)
- gozo- Kana wakura, ucagozonemba woga (When you are
grown, you will be able then to read by
yourself).

-751. 3) -NDO-

-NDO- is the contracted form of -enda + ku-,
the prefix of a complementary infinitive. The verb
-enda is found in some Kl. dialects as -nda. -NDO- is
frequently further contracted to -no-. -NDO- does not
appear to be used in Ma. which uses the form -wo-.

The compound predicate composed of -ndo +
contracted infinitive indicates that the action or state
indicated by the complement is a sequel or consequence
arrived at by going.

e.g. Ndakandocera mvura (I went to draw water; I went
and drew water).

Ndicandotarira (I will go and look).

Wakaramba kundovima navampe (He refused to go
and hunt with the others).

Indocerayi mvura! (Go and draw water!)

Tinonodziya moto (We go and get warm by the fire).

Mbada ndokunomwandira (And then the leopard went
to lie in wait for him).

752. This verb is frequently used after the verb
-enda (go) expressive of purposeful motion.

e.g. Zakanaka, enda unomuwana kutsime! (Good, go and
find him at the well!)

Ma. uses the verb -wo-.

e.g. Ticamboenda kuwompa mvura; iwe, gara pano!
(We will first go to (go and) drink water;
you, stay here!)

753.

-NDO- is found in the following combinations:

- zondo- Akambozororamo mazuba mashomanana; ndo kuzondo-pinda munyika yaGutu (He waited there first a few days and then proceeded to enter Gutu's country).
- mbondo- Gimbosara pano; ndimbondowanda ugonitsaga (Now first wait here, so that I may first go and hide and you then look for me).

754.

- 4) -MBO- (first, already, before; in negative predicates: ever, at all)

-MBO- is probably derived from -vamba (begin) + ku-¹, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Wambouya (He has already come).

Imbga yakamboruma here ? (Has the dog bitten before ?)

Kuwa vafundisi vaingunomuti: "Imbomira !" (Because the missionaries were meanwhile telling him: "First wait!")

Zinombofuda zazo ndo kuzofa (They come out for a while indeed and then die).

In the negative:

Hapana nomunhu wose acambokuremekedzayi (There is no one at all who will ever respect you).

Haacambonditeerera kwese (He will not obey me at all).

Kurwa kwalita vaShawasha hakwaimbodotsa zuwa (The fighting which the Shawasha used to do never lasted at all till sunset).

755.

-MBO- is found in the following frequent constructions:

-zombo- Dashampari vavo havana kuzomboziwa kana kuzombofunga kuti vari kuendepi, bodo! (Her friends did not know at all nor think at all where she was going, no!)

-dombo- Gombomirayi kashoma (Please first wait a minute)

756.

- 5) -TO- (just, simply, be obliged to)

-TO- may be derived from -ita (do) + ku-, the prefix of a following infinitive. In some Kl. dialects, the verb -ita (do) appears as -ta. e.g. Ndota seni ? (How am I to act ?)

-TO- stresses the sufficiency of the action indicated by the complement; that it is that which is indicated and nothing more.

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 292.

e.g. Kana ucida nyama yako, itokwira muno! (If you want your meat, just climb up here!)

Zawaſata sadza rangū, citoridya! (Since you have taken my porridge, just eat it now!)

...uotadza kufema, uotofema nomukanwa (...now he can't breathe, he has to breathe through his mouth).

Ndinofara zangu asi kutotyira imi cete (I am well enough but only anxious for you).

Mudandira iri mhuka hadziwiremo dzoga, dzinotetinhirwa kwazo navanhu ari masikati (Animals do not fall into this trap on their own, they have to be driven in by people in broad daylight).

Kana acida kuendamo, anototanga apiwa rubvumiro (If he wants to go in there, he has first to be given permission).

Zototi mangwana (It just says tomorrow; viz. For tomorrow only- of a parcel to be opened on the-morrow).

757.

6) -DGO- (only, merely)

-DGO- may be derived from -nga (be, be able). Like -to- it emphasises the action indicated by the complement "by pruning it down to its obvious sense alone".¹ But whereas -to- presents the action as sufficient, complete, needful, adequate to the situation and its requirements, -nga- stresses the fact of its simplicity, that it is that which happened, or happens, and nothing more.

e.g. Kwete kungotaura usina kufunga (Don't just talk without having thought).

Ingoti sufu, ndikurobe : (Just say a word and I will beat you!)

Ingondipayi cokudya : (Just give me some food!)

Ini handingotaura pazere vanhu pamusana pokungoda kutaura (I don't just talk in a crowded place merely from the love of talking).

Ndinongoona cinge cete (I see only one thing).

Tinongopiwa zisadza zakaipa (We are just given rotten porridge)

Dayi tikangwana vakomana ... (If we just find the boys..)

758.

-TO- and -DGO- are found in frequent combination, especially in the negative.

e.g. Handina kutongodziona (I did not see them at all)

Ndinotongotarisa kuti ndicadiyi (I am just seeing what I shall do)

1. Cf. Price, The Elements of Nyanja., p. 188.

-ogo- is frequently found in the positive indicative and participial present progressive with formative -ca-. The sense seems to be of an action only recently, (viz. just) completed.

e.g. Ngana mudiki acangozarwa (A small child just born)

Ndicangobuda mumba iko zino mavari (I have just left the house where they are this very minute).

Ndicangobva kundodya (I have just returned from going to eat).

759.

7) -do- (anxiously, eagerly)

-do- is probably derived from -da (want, like, love) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. This deficient verb seems to indicate concomitant subjective interest or emotion on the part of the agent or speaker. It is rendered by words like 'eagerly', 'anxiously' etc.

e.g. In the infinitive it often renders a part indicative.

Mbada iye kudogaririra ikati yashaya (And the leopard waited eagerly and went without).

Mbada kudozosika ikaona vose vose sanetuzhyu (The leopard arrived in haste and saw all/ them with tufts of hair).

Kamba kudoti: "Eveni, shangari, ndidohedzerewo mazhanje" (And the tortoise said: "Baboon, old pal, please drop me down some wild loquats").

It may be that these infinitives are shortened and lacking an introductory copulative.

e.g. Mbada ndo kudomwandira pacuruco (And the leopard ravenously waited for him by that anthill).

The imperative:

dondipamidza tumpe! (Please give me a little more!)

docimbidza.' (Do hurry!)

The indicative:

Ndakadozosika ndikawana pasina caitwa (I arrived eagerly and found nothing done).

Rakanzwa mhiripiri yovava zikuru, muromo wongoshosha, rakadombotirira asi rakanzwa zanyanya (He felt the chillies burning much and his mouth just smarted and he tried hard at first to hold out but he felt it was too much).

Haudombofuda pano su, iyewe ? (Do you mean to say you are not coming out here?)

The subjunctive:

dondipa zangu hewo ciwa cicici ndidowakisa kamba kangu
(Please give me, I say, this sheaf of grass here that I may build my little house- (which I am anxious to build))

Gombomirayi kashoma tidombopindano isu vanaCura (Please just wait a little so that we Frog people may come in too)

The following examples, though like the above, present subjunctive, are consecutive forms with narrative function. They refer to past time and take the place of a past subjunctive.

Eveni rakagodzoka kunze kwarakanga raenda ridozoti mumba kupinda potyo rikaona kamba atogara pasi zake (The baboon then went outside from where he had come and then hurried in the house again and saw the tortoise just seated on the ground).

Eere ridoedza kukwira, rikatadza (The hyena tried hard to climb but failed).

Eere rikati, 'Ndoita rwangu rwanakadya'. Ridosaira, ridosaira rikati ratadza (The hyena said, 'Now I do my trick with which I ate before'. It pushed hard and pushed hard and it failed).

The past subjunctive.

Akanakidzwa neEvangerio akadokarobapatiswa (He was attracted by the Gospel and was almost inclined to be baptised).

The potential.

Ko, ndingadowanawo demo rako here ndikatemesa danda raggu?
(Could I please have your axe and cut my log?)

The participial.

Kuzoti amuka mangwanani, acidozoti meso kunyemba tse, akawana aa, hoko kukura ! (When he got up, casting his eyes eagerly at the beans he saw, oh! there's a growth)

Acidozoti cewu kuti ndione..(Looking round quickly to see..)

760.

-do- is frequently found in the following combinations:

-dombo- Gombomirayi kashoma! (Please just wait a minute!)

-dozo- Ndakadozosika ndikawana pasina caitwa (I arrived in haste and found nothing done).

8) -GO- (be able to, then, in consequence).

-GO- is derived from -gona (be able) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. It is often used in consecutive forms which are represented as sequels, made possible by what has gone before. In these consecutive forms, -go- is in the present or past subjunctive and may be translated by 'then', 'hence', 'so' etc. No example in Ma. of -go- was met, speakers there preferring to use the present participial with formative -ci-.

e.g. Akatyoka gumbo unogozodiyiko ? (If he breaks his leg, what will you be able to do, tell me?)

Nakudo akakumbira kurapiwa kuti agofanana nawanhu (The baboons asked to be treated so that they might resemble men).

Ipa mhuka dzako imbga dzidye, iwewo ugodzidiyawo; hezo iwe ugodziwawo neshumba, isu tigoidyawo shumba; kana yapedza kukudya, toidya (Give your animals to the dogs that they may eat and you then eat them likewise; then you be eaten likewise by the lion and we will eat the lion too; when it has done eating you, we then eat it).

Rimpe zuwa kamba akauza wadzimai wake kugadzira masiko makuru kwazo kuti agodya neshamgari yake vacitamba nokufara. Wadzimai waze wakagonyatsoshania caizo zizonzi: 'Uyayi muone' (One day the tortoise told his wife to prepare a very big dinner so that he might be able to eat with his friend and they dance and be merry; and so that wife did her work marvellously in a way which spoke: 'Come and see' - viz. in a way which invited inspection).

Mugagoenda naniko kana mukaramba kuperekedzwa ⁿⁱneni ? (With whom can you go then if you refuse to be accompanied by me?)

Ko, kugodaro vampe ndookuneyi ? (Tell me, to then treat others like that, what is it for?)

Ko, ukagodzoka wani? (Why have you returned then?)

Other consecutive forms:

Canokurumidza kupedza mpea yakanaka ugosara wawo wawari kungunofema (They quickly finish up the good air and there remains theirs which they are meantime breathing).

Pxere ngaipiwe mukaka igocipiwa maranjisi (Let the child be given milk and then oranges).

Cimbosara pano ndimbondowanda ugonditsaga (Now first wait here that I may go and hide and then you look for me).

"Wakasagotanda vakadzi vako zino unozisikiraka? "

"Zikagobe neyi? " ("You chased your wives without thought and now do you cook for yourself?" "And what of it? ")

Uakaona mhembe yakafa vakagopembera kwazo vacitenda mbaŋa ndokutakura mhukayo voenda nayo kumusha (She saw that the duiker was dead and she then rejoiced heartily thanking the leopard and she took up that animal and brought it home).

762.

-GO- is frequently found in the following combinations:

-gozo Kana wakura ucagozonemba woga (When you are grown you will be able then to read on your own).

-goto- Ndogotodiyiko? (Now, tell me, just what can I do?)

763.

9) -SO-.

This deficient verb is found in Ma. where it corresponds to the use in Ze. of the verb -pota (go on) with present participials.¹

e.g. The Ze. expression:

Cipota ucifumira kundotanda mapfeni! (Keep getting up early to go and chase the baboons away!)

would be rendered in Ma.:

Usofume kuwotanda matiro.

e.g. Unasofuma (You must keep getting up early)

Munosondicengerawo makate ayo kana ndicinge ndisipo (Would you kindly go on keeping those pots for me when I am not here?)

cp. Ze. Nhai, mungapote mucindicengerawo here makate ayo kana ndicinge ndisipo?

e.g. Tora aya matchwe, usoberekese myana wedu ndiwo (Take these hides and keep carrying our child with them).

764.

10) -KARO- (almost, possibly, seemingly)

-KARO- may be derived from -kara (be greedy) + ku-,²

the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Hapo pakudzoka akaona, inga, aya kukaroda kuita mahwekwe naro (On his return he saw, I say!, he was on the point of meeting it).

Karomudira mvura tione zaanoita (Almost pour water on him so that we may see what he will do).

1. But cf. Buck, p. xi: "Sometimes -so- is inserted before the root of a verb to denote something done long ago, whether once or often, e.g. Ntakasoyenda apo (I went there a long time ago).

2. For a similar effect, c.f. the Ka. example: Mwana wangu wanga acirwisa kufa (my child was on the point of dying; lit. was fighting to die).

Unokarodada (You seem to be conceited)

Haana kukaropenga (He seems normal; lit. He is not almost mad)

..nomusoro wokarodimuka (...with a head almost splitting)

Cipo angakarozoenzana neni (Perhaps he may possibly come to rival me).

765.

11) -SIKO- (on arrival, there, at once)

-SIKO- is derived from -sika (arrive) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Sikosakwazisa! (Greet them on arrival!)

Takasikopinda mumba (We entered the house on arrival, we entered the house at once).

766.

12) -NGUNO- (meanwhile, concurrently)

The derivation of -nguno- is uncertain. It may derive from the noun + demonstrative qualificative: ngupa ino (this time).

e.g. Ngunonyorayi tsamba, ndicaona vaeni (Write the letters in the meantime, I shall see the strangers).

Ndinongunotaura nezompama wangu (I am talking of my child at the moment)

Cingo candangunotaurira...(Since I have been talking..)

Zaakangomuona acingunouya nenzira, wakasimuka nokumutambira (No sooner had he seen him coming along the path than he got up and received him)

..iwo mapere acangunononga nyimo dziye (The hyenas still occupied meantime in picking up those beans)

767.

13) -NATSO-, -NYATSO- (nicely, well, carefully)

Both forms are derived from -natsa (improve, do well), the short causative and intensive of -naka (become good) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. The form -nyatso- may undergo a process of metathesis and the verb appear as -tsano- (cf. -tsana (do gently)). The form -cano- also appears.

e.g. Nyatsofamba! (Walk properly!)

Wakanatsotaura (He spoke well)

Canonatsotsatsaira vasiggaridze tsoka (They tread carefully, not making a noise with their feet)

Tsanotsika! (Tread gently!)

Kana amai vakacanofundisa mpama waco aciri mudiki nyika ingakurumidze kushambidzika (If a mother were to teach her child properly while still young the country would soon become civilized)

768.

14) -SANO- (meanwhile)

-SANO- is derived from -sana (do meanwhile) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Sanozirangarirayi! (Think meanwhile on these things!)

Hurumende yakaisa dare rokuti risanobvunzisisa nezeku-sarudzwa kwake nevanhu vake kuti aye ishe, iye anemukadze muRungu (The Government has appointed a commission to inquire meanwhile into his election by his people that he should be chief, he having an European wife).

769.

15) -FUMO- (on rising, early in the morning)

-FUMO- is derived from -fuma (rise early) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Fumomuka.' (Rise early in the morning!)

Ndafumocendako maramba-kuedza, ndikacera ndikadzoka (I went there early before dawn, and I dug and I returned).

Akafumobva pamusha (He left the village early).

Eere ndokufumoti nhe (The hyena got up early).

op. Mafuma makadiyi? (How are you this morning?)

The verb -fuma is also used with participial exclusive complement.

770.

16) -NYANYO- (excessively, exceedingly)

-NYANYO- is derived from -nyanya (exceed) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Wakanyanyokura (He is exceedingly big)

Gadzimal vakati: "Nhasi manyanyo-swerodiyeyiko kumbudzi?" (The mothers said: "What did you overdo in eating/spending time at the goats?" - lit. you-excessively-spending time-ate what I ask?)

771.

17) -ISO- (badly, excessively, very)

-ISO- is derived from -isa (spoil), the short causative of -ipa (become bad) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Ndaisoziya (I am terribly hungry)

Ndinoisosekera (I am awfully glad)

Kunomumpe mutufu uri papapa unoisopenga kunaka (There is a certain mutufu tree just here which exceedingly delicious: lit. which is badly mad to be nice)

1. Cf. Marconné's, par. 301.

Huzukuru, hwedza handeyi kusango randakadimbura rine-
mbambaire yakaisokombodza samare (Nephew, tomorrow
let us go to a patch of veld I have come across
which has a sweet potato which has grown enormously
big)

772.

18) -RARO-, -RINDO- (during the night).

-RARO- and -RINDO- are derived respectively from -rara
(go to sleep) and -rinda (go to sleep), + ku-, the prefix of
a complementary infinitive. A similar form, used with the
same meaning, is -rariro-, derived from the applied form
-rarira (sleep at, for etc).

e.g. Uamge vanorarotamba husiku hwose (Some dance all
the night).¹

Uakarindotamba (They danced all the night)

Takarindofamba (We travelled all night).

Unongorarironwa (You just drink all night).

Uamne vanoti wakasiya aiswa kwaakararogwadauka
husiku hwose (Some say he (was) left placed
where he spent the whole night writhing in pain).

773.

19) -NYANGO- (although, even though)

-NYANGO- is probably derived from the concessive
formative ²-nya- + the copulative verb -nga + ku-, the prefix
of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. In the infinitive, the form -nyango- is found in the
conjunctive kunyangova (although). In this conjunctive, as in
many others, the prefix ku- may be elided.

e.g. Nyangova akafa, acataura (Even though dead, he still
speaks)

-
1. Cf. Marconnes, par.298. Cp. the Sotho compound predicate
ke letse ke nahana (I have meditated all night) where the
verb -lala (rest) is used with a participial complement.
Southern Sotho-English Dictionary. Morija, p.196.
 2. -nya- is a concessive formative in use in Ma. with verb
stems, e.g. Kana ndinyataura (Even though I speak). Cf.
O'Neill, p. 145. Elsewhere it usually appears with -nga
as in the conjunctives kunyangwe, kunyangwe (although) and,
as a deficient verb with contracted infinitive of -ga
(become), in the form kunyangova (although).

Other examples:

Kunyangobatsirwa, hapana mupundutso (Even to be helped, there is no avail).

Nyangopa mari zhinji, hapana cainomubatsira (Even give (him) a lot of money, there is no way in which it helps him).

¹
Kana unyangopa zakakwana, haafadzwe nazo (Even though you give enough, he is not pleased with it).

Kana ndanyangopiwa sokudya, handicitambire (Even though I am given food, I do not accept it).

Ukanyangowana pfuma dzose (Even if you have got all riches)

774.

20) -SANGO- (precipitately, rashly, without thought, previously; in the negative: even think of, even begin to)

The derivation of -Sango- is uncertain.

e.g. Kusangoseka vange, iwe wakanaka here ? (To laugh rashly at others, what about yourself?)

Sangosakura nzungu (Previously weed the monkey-nuts)

Ungasangorowa ndonda yakadayi? (Can you be so heedless as to beat such a weakling as this?)

Handingasangosimudza ruoko rwangu kukurova (I would not go so far as to lift my hand to beat you)

"Wakasangotenda vakadzi vako, zino unozisikiraka?"
(You rashly drove away your wives and now do you cook for yourself?)

Wasangouya naye kunzwa zareva vasa vako (You unwisely brought him here to hear what your father said).

Handisangoziva nepashoma-shoma pose (I don't know at all, don't begin to know)

Unotosangouya kuno, unovingeyi? (You just come here without authorization -what are you after?)¹

775.

21) -PINGO- (already; in negative predicates; yet)

The derivation of -pingo- is uncertain.

e.g. Rega kupingotarisa! (Don't look yet!)

Rega kupingoita usati wafunga! (Don't act yet before you have thought!)

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 296.

Hamucimbomira here, kuzopingoenda? (Won't you first wait, coming to go already?)

Teereraka zopingoita mukaranga! (Listen to what the honey-guide is already doing!)

Niapingosuba huso kwako kunonyemgerera (I already miss your smiling face).

Zakapingosika kwandiri (It has already arrived at my turn).

776.

22) -SWERO- (All the time)

-SWERO- is derived from -swera- (pass time, pass the day) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. It sometimes appears as -skoro-, sometimes as -soro-.

e.g. Uaida kusorotamba (They wanted to dance all the time).

Handicamboswerokurukudza nemi (I will not spend time talking with you).

Swerotamba nomumge uyu (Pass the time playing with this one).

Unoswerotambudzikireyi nezapfuura? (Why are you always troubled about the past?)

Ndiudze ndisati ndakurova, masorodzeyi? (Tell me before I beat you, what did you spend the time eating?)

777.

23) -GARO- (always)

-GARO- is derived from -gara- (stay) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Garosevenza mumunda magu! (Keep working, work always in my field!)

In the indicative this verb is used mainly in the habitual mode. This applies to the deficient verbs -wanzo- (often) and -ziyo- (according to custom) as well.

e.g. Tinogarotaura nezedzimba dzevatema (We are always talking about the houses of the Africans).

Waigarouya kwandiri (He used always to come to me).

Hana yake icigaromurova (His conscience always smiting him).

778.

24) -WANZO- (often)

-WANZO- is derived from the verb -wanza (make plentiful), the short causative of -wanda (abound), + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Wanzouya kuno kuti ndikuone (Come here often so that I may see you).

Haaida kugara mumba, waiwanzogara paruware (He used not to like to stay indoors, he would often sit on the threshing-floor).

Asi onayi, zamandiuraya, mvura haicawanzona munyika inoyenyu yose (But look, when you have killed me, the rain will not often fall in this whole country of yours).

779.

25) -WIRO- (further, again)

-WIRO- is derived from -wira (return) and ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. The form -wiriro-, derived from the applied verb stem -wirira (return to), is also found.

e.g. Akawirosvera mampe mazuba (He remained again a few days)

Wakawirirodzoka (He returned again)

Ndambodya zikandinakira niikawirirodya zakare (I did eat and it pleased me but I ate again).

780.

26) -ZIRO- (habitually, according to custom, as before)

-ZIRO- is derived from -zira (know) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive. The form -ziro-, derived from the applied verb stem -zirira (know for, be accustomed to), is also found.

e.g. Tinoziroenda kuminda (We generally go to the fields).

Tinozirodzoka nenzara yedu (We generally come back with our hunger, come back hungry).

Uapondi waiziroti, kana vanemhondwi zhinji, waiva-uraya munzirambo (What the executioners would generally do was, if they had many victims, they would kill them there in the road).

Akaona rombe iro rakaziwirouyaga (He saw that that beggar had, as usual, come again).

-zira- may be found as -zoro- or -zoo-.

e.g. Isu vanaCura tinozorova (We, Frog people know how to fight).

781.

27) -FANO- (beforehand, previously)

-FANO- is derived from -fana (do meanwhile) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. -fanoparidza (foretell)

Ndocifanobika nyimo nokuti, kunge odzoka kuminda, anenge afa nenzara (I now cook the beans in good time because, when he comes from the fields, he is very hungry).

Fanokucidzira moto! (First stir up the fire!)

Ticafanokuudzayi (We will tell you in good time).

782.

28) -CIMBIDZO- (quickly)

-CIMBIDZO- is derived from -cimbidza (hurry) and ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Cimbidzouya (Come quickly)

Baša uyo wakacimbidzoona kusanduka kwezinhū (That father saw quickly the change in things).

783.

29) -DAKARO- (at last, until)

-DAKARO- is derived from -dakara (end by, do at last) + ku-, the prefix of a complementary infinitive.

e.g. Nkakafamba zuca rose ndikadakaroneta (I travelled the whole day and at last I got tired; until I got tired).

784.

D) Deficient verbs with verbal participial complements of unrestricted form.

The deficient verbs in this section are used with complements which are determined in mood (being all participial but not in tense, implication or aspect. Verbs used with such unrestricted complements are not numerous. They are:

- 1) the copulative verb -nge (be) ;
- 2) the verb -dayi (do this) ;
- 3) the verb -ti (do).

Compound predicates made up of these verbs with their complements provide good examples of tense combinations. The deficient verb, whether of past, present or future tense, is found in combination with participial complements in every tense, past, present or future.

785.

- 1) The deficient verb -nge.¹

The verb -nge (in Ma. -nga) when followed by a substantival complement means 'seem', 'be like'.

e.g. Inge munhu! (Look like a person!)

Ingeyi vanhu.' (Look like people!)

Rodza mapfumo ange ciso (Sharpen the spears so that they are like a razor)

Ndakupfeka kuti ndinge iye (I dressed so that I might resemble him).

Ndingange mambo (I can be like a chief).

Included among the substantival complements which may follow -nge are relative qualificative pronouns. This case is examined below among the deficient verbs used with relative complements.

In the infinitive kunge functions as a conjunctive meaning 'if', 'when'.

786.

Followed by participial complements of all tenses, it forms various tense combinations.

e.g. -nge in the infinitive - uncontracted (as complement to -na)

with participial past as complement:

Haana kunge vanyatsozinzwisisa zokuti Jiri haasiri mambo wakare (They had not properly understood the fact that Jiri was not the chief of old).

Asi mambo haana kunge ati: "Hongu, ngaurayiwe" (But the chief had not said: "Yes, let him be killed").

-nge in the infinitive - contracted.

with participial present progressive:

Zimge ndinezenge ndiciri pano (Perhaps I shall still be here)

1. This deficient verb, when followed by a participial complement, appears in Ze. and Ka. as -nga, when itself in the positive indicative recent and non-recent past tenses. In Ma., however, when in these tenses, this verb appears as -nge - though in some dialects in Ma., the verb stem in the recent past is -nga.

e.g. Ndakanga ndatora (I had taken) Ze. Ka.

Ndakange ndatora (I had taken) Ma.

In other moods and tenses, this verb is -nge in Ze. and Ka. The vowel -e causes the vowel -o- preceding it in the same verb form to change to -e; sometimes the vowel -a- is similarly affected.

e.g. Ndakambenge ndatora (I had first taken) Ze. Ka.

Ndainge ndatora (I used to have taken) Ze. Ka.

In corresponding moods and tenses in Ma., the verb appears as -nga.

e.g. apo aindonga acidaze vanhu (whenever he was going to be wanting people) Ma.

yan

with participial past and participial present exclusive:

Ndinezenge ndagikako pandinenge ndoenda kwaKutama
(I shall have arrived there when I am about to
go to Kutama's)

with participial past:

Ucizenge wawaona, nyatsouatambira (If you come to see
them, receive them nicely).

with participial present:

Unoona ronda rako rambenge riri diki, rotanga
kumaukira (You will see that your wound, which
was originally small, now begins to spread).

with participial present exclusive:

Tatenge toti: 'Hamugare vanhu' (We were just thinking
that no one lived here).

with participial present:

Ko, zavanengege vacicema vanoti vanonzwikwa nani? (Tell
me, when they^{are} crying, by whom do they think they
are heard?)

with participial present perfect:

Wagenge wava nokuona seyiko? (How came you able to see?)

787.

-nge in the indicative.

Present - participial past:

Ndinoziva vanhu vazhinji vanongoyerekana vabvunzwa
namapurisa nokuti vanenge vaudzwa navatema pacavo
(I know many people who are suddenly interrogated
by the police because they have been reported by
Africans).

Present - participial past habitual:

Izi zinenge zaigaroitika kana vasesenzi vaigona
kucengeta mari inokwana yemgedzi mitatu (This used
always to happen when the workers were able to
keep enough money for three months).

Present - present (negative):

Asi murume anenge asingaziwe izi (But the husband is
ignorant of these things).

Future - present:

Kana zuva revira magwana, ndinenge ndicifamba (When
the sun has set tomorrow, I shall be travelling).

Past habitual - participial present perfect:

Twose twainge twava kukaroputika nehasha (All the
little things were almost bursting with rage).

The past habitual of -nge is often used in the potential sense:

e.g. Mainge makandipa vatsene (You ought to have given me the good ones).

Non-recent past - past:

Ko, wakanga waenda kupiko? (Tell me, where has you gone?)

Yecitatu yakange yasara isina kuonekwa (The third one had remained unseen) Ee.

Non-recent past - present:

Nyika yose yakanga icityera (The whole country was sacred).

Non-recent past - present exclusive:

Ipapo diro rakanga roda kuramba ricifunga kuti zimpe tsuro angazoona vana wake vati muhompe (At that point the baboon was inclined to refuse thinking that the hare might perhaps come to see his children in the bag).

Recent past - past and present:

Dzakawawana zikanzi neshumba, "Izi, munga maendepiko?" Vakadawira vati: "Munga matipfumbirira guruwa, tanga tisingaone kuridza" (They found them and it was said by the lions: "Where had you gone just now?" They replied saying: "You had stifled us (with) dust, we were unable to see to play").

788.

-nge in the participial:

Present present exclusive:

Hama dzangu, cengetayi mari yenyu muP.O. nokuti mari yako unozolwana kuti ucinge woida (My brothers, keep your money in the Post Office because you will find the money if you suddenly want it).

Present - present perfect:

Wakati zakare ngosi inogona kucatanura munhu kumutero kana acinge wacembera (He said further that the Native Commissioner is able to release a person from the tax when he is old).

Past habitual - past:

Iyeyu mutadzi kana ainge ataurirwa naci remba kutiza gotso, wagopfeka mamvemve (This same sinner when told by the diviner to 'flee the danger', (viz. do public penance), used then to dress in rags).

-nge in the relative:Present - present:

Makaverenga nezipeto zinoſiswa nomunhu anenge acida ku-roora (You have read of the tribute which is paid by a person who wants to get married).

Past habitual - past:

Uaitenera zose zainge zarewa neganga (They used to follow all which was said by the diviner)

-nge in the past subjunctive:- with the past:

Ukanga wanzwa zicizipa, ndokusunga wodya zako zose (If you have tasted something nice, I then bind you and you eat the lot).

- with the present exclusive:

Mukadzi waba namapere akacinge ogeramo akaciisa moto kuti aciisa afa zake (A woman who had leprosy then lived in there and she then put fire to it so that she might then be better die (viz. seek relief by dying)))

2) The deficient verb -dayi (do this)

The verb -dayi (do this) is a derivative of the verb ¹-ti (do). Other similar derivatives are -daro (do that), -deya (do that there) (Ka.) and -deno (do this here) (Ka. - in Ma. -dano).

The stems -dayi (Ze. and Ma.), -deno (Ka.) and -dano (Ma.) are used as conjunctives to introduce conditional clauses of unlikely occurrence.

As a deficient verb -dayi is most often used in the potential (or the corresponding past habitual form with potential meaning), with participial complements of all tenses. In Ma., the verb stem -dano alternates with -dayi. By compound predicates of this form, past and future ²potentials may be formed.

e.g. ndingadayi ndakatora (I would have taken - in the non-recent past)
ndingadayi ndatora (I would have taken - in the recent past)

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 313-5.
2. Cf. par. 702 above.

ndingadayi ndicitora (I would be taking)

ndingadayi ndicatora (I would be about to take)

The form ndaidayi may be used instead of ndingadayi.

Some speakers even use niadayi for ndingadayi.

e.g. dayi ndisina kurasika, ndingadayi ndasika (If I had not been lost, I would have arrived).

Tingadayi ticicenjera (We should be careful)

Uggadayi waisa muhompe yako (You ought to have placed (it) in your bag).

dayi zingwe uriwe mambo, waidayi waitireyi ganhu wako? (If you were chief, how would you have been treating your people?)

Daggadayi vasasatere ganga (They ought no longer to be obeying the diviner).

793.

The verb -dayi, in its deficient function, is not restricted to the potential, but its use in other tenses is still obscure.

e.g. Mukomana wamakatuma wakadayi asika nezuro (The boy whom you sent had already arrived yesterday)

Mpana wangu anodayi acisika naye pano (My child would be arriving with here now; or my child is accustomed to arrive with him here).

Handina cekutaura, uggadano wanditaurira ndiciyo, ndicadano ndavuya nempoyo wangu (I haven't anything to say, you should have told me while I was still there, I would have come with my heart). Ma.

Mangwana niiri kudayi ndosika pamusha (Tomorrow I will be about to arrive at home).

3) The verb -ti (say, do, think)a) -ti in independent function.

-ti is a fully conjugated verb with a large variety of uses and meanings. Its primary significance seems to be 'act' or 'do'. This covers activity which is mental (to think), and verbal (to say), as well as other more complex forms of activity.

-ti meaning 'think'.

e.g. Ndati zimne imbudzi (I thought perhaps it was a goat)

Ndati, zaari mavu..(I thought, since it is soil..)

Tamuregera tikasati aneenda kunze (We let him go and didn't think he was going outside).

-ti meaning 'say'.

With this meaning, some form of -ti is often used to introduce direct as well as indirect speech.¹

e.g. Wakati kumurume wake: "Handeyi" (She said to her husband: "Let's go")

Handiri kuti: "Ogaziregerwe" (I am not saying: "Let them be let go" or: "I am not saying that they should be let go").

Handiti: "Wauya" (Let me say: "He has come" or "I bet he has come")

Ndakavaudza kuti ngavarege kutsampa (I told them that they should not be sad; lit. I told them saying, let them not be sad)

The interjective of surprise, moti, to which an alternative is mukati (and you say), seems to incorporate -ti in this sense.

e.g. Moti)matouya netsenza! (Did you bring the radishes then?)
Mukati)

Moti)nhasi izororo! (So today is a holiday!)
Mukati)

-ti meaning 'do'.

This meaning underlies most of the uses of -ti. When the subject of -ti is impersonal, the meaning is 'happen'.

e.g. Tongoti atora cake atora cake (What we just do is he took his he took his; viz. We just each take our own)

Kati katatu, kati kashinji kese (It happens three or full many times)

1. Cf. Chapter XIII, for the treatment of kuti as a conjunctive.

Cirwere cakatangga naganhu cikati kumombe cikati kubuku
(The sickness started with the people and it
did to the cattle and it did to the fowls - viz.
and spread to the cattle and spread to the fowls).

¹
-ti is used with this sense in introducing ideophones.

e.g. Wati potyo (He did entering viz. He entered).

795.

The introductory function of -tiz

One of the most widely-met functions of -ti is the introductory function. One aspect of this function has already been touched on, viz. the use of -ti in introducing direct or indirect speech. -ti is also used to introduce actions. One very common instance of this function is found in the forms used in consecutive narrative. The consecutive form of -ti is followed by an indicative expressing the action done.

e.g. Mbada iye kudogaririra ikati yashaya (That leopard waited and waited and went without).

In this example, ikati is a past subjunctive in consecutive narrative. It means roughly: "and what it did was that", and it introduces a following indicative stating what happened. Thus ikati yashaya (and what it did was that it went without).

1. Cf. Chapter XII, The ideophone.

Wakaona nyuci vakati: "Dgati dzisureyi"; vatodziti tatapu, dzikati dzavaruma ndokubva vadziregera (They saw bees and they said: "Let us extract them"; having just touched them, what they did was that they stung them, and forthwith they let them alone).

In this example - and the others as well - the past subjunctive + the following indicative is roughly equivalent to the plain past subjunctive of the verb which is introduced.

viz. ikati yashaya = ikashaya

dzikati dzavaruma = dzikavaruma

Wamira ndiciti ndasika (He stopped and I came; lit. He stopped what I doing is I came).

Ndo kubuda kunze muciovanze, huku dzose dzikati dzomutevera; ipapo ikati yofamba icifara (And then he went outside into the yard, and what all the fowls did was that they followed him; there what it did was that it walked happily).

-ti in this function may introduce direct speech - though here it is not speech as such which is introduced, but speech as indicative of action.

e.g. hope dzikati ndasata (and sleep took hold; lit. and what sleep did was I have got hold).

zuba rikati ndopisa (then the sun grew hot)

zuba rikati ndadoka (then the sun set)

This introductory function extends to the other uses of the past subjunctive as well as the consecutive.

e.g. kuzoti mhuka dzikati tauya (when the animals came)

kudzimara shato ikati ndauya (until the python came)¹

796.

-ti introducing sentences.

-ti is often used as introductory to a sentence or series of clauses. In these cases the word order is roughly as follows:-

the introductory form of -ti, followed by a temporal or a conditional clause, followed by the rest of the sentence of which the main predicate is in the indicative mood.

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 473.

e.g. Uazhinji vari kuti, vakapedza rugwaro rwecitatu, vapedza cikoro (What many are doing is, if they have finished Standard III, they have finished school).

Ini ndinongoti, ndikanzwa imbga ichukura, meno cinongotsimudza mavvi angu (As for me what I do is, if I hear a dog howling, I know not what makes my knees shake).

Waigoti, kana aenda kunaciremba, waigotaurirwa kuti, nenzira yamaŋasa ake akaita kunacadzisaŋa wake, aya matambudziko aya kwaari (What he used to do was, when he had gone to the doctor, he used to then be told that, on account of the works which he had done to his fathers, these sufferings had come to him).

Rumge rukwa runoti, ukadya zokuba, miromo yako ino-cinduka (What another protective medicine does is, when you eat stolen things, your lips swell up).

Rimge biza rinoti, kana ukarikwira, haucagone kuŋuruka (What another horse does is, when you mount it, you are unable to come down; or: Another horse is of such a type that, if you mount it...)

Taiti, tikarwa napanhu, kana tavakurira, totora mombe totora vakadzi (What we used to do was, when we fought with people, if we overcame them, we would then take the cattle, we would then take the women).

Dzaiti, inenge yafunga kundotara shumba kurwara kwayo, kana iri yega, haicadzoka, yosika yodyiwa (What they used to do was, if one of them had thought of going to visit the lion (in) his illness, if he was alone, he would not return, he was eaten on arrival).

Ndinofunga kuti varungu vaggadayi vaciti, kana mutungamiri waŋuda paŋasa, voisa mumge mutŋa aciri kungopinda pakarepo, asati woziwa zepo (I think that what the Europeans ought to do is, if a foreman has left the work, then put on another new one still beginning there, not yet knowing about the place).

797.

Examples with impersonal subject concords in the introductory form:

Kwakati, mazwisa matatu asera, vakamuwana (What happened was that, after three days, they found him).

Zinoti, imbaga yaruma munhu, varidzi vayo vanosungirwa kuripa munhu arumba (What happens is that, when a dog has bitten a person, its owners are bound to compensate the person bitten)

798.

A final introductory construction may be mentioned.

In this the verb -ti takes an infinitive as object and is followed by the series of consecutive forms.

e.g. Akati kupedza kushamba, akaſika sadza (She did to finish to wash and she cooked porridge; viz. When she had finished washing, she cooked porridge).

Akati kupedza kwaaita kuvuna, ndokubva atora dehwe (He did the finishing which he did of skinning and forthwith he took the hide; viz. As soon as he had finished skinning, he took the hide)

Vanhu vanoti kunwa doro, vabva vadakwa (As soon as people drink beer, they are straightway drunk).

Vanhu vanoti kugosagana, uorwa (As soon as people simply meet, they fight).

Ndicati kupedza kunyora, ndigobva ndaenda (When I shall finish writing, I shall go)

Ndiciti kupedza....(While I was finishing...)

799.

The verb -ti with an infinitive as object, followed by -ti in a consecutive form, also with an infinite object, conveys the notion that both one thing and another are done.

e.g. Ndakati kuona ndikati kunzwa (I both saw and heard).

Tsika iyi yakati kunaka ikati kuipa (This custom is both good and bad).

Motokare iyi inoti kukwira ikati kurima (This motor-car both climbs and ploughs; viz. the jeep)

Zandekarowa ndakati kusaona ndikati kusafamba (When I was beaten I neither saw nor walked).

Ndicati kukupa kuya ndigoti kukupfekedza (I shall both give you food and clothe you).

If a man says: "Ndinoti kuona.." (I both see..), his audience

will expect him to finish the sentence, perhaps prompting him by saying: ",.ukati kuiteyize?" (.."and do what else?")

This construction is not restricted to infinitive objects. It extends to other nouns as well. In this case, however, it is not a list of actions which is mentioned but a list of objects.

Munda wako wararira - zongoti fundo zikati rukweza (Your field has been neglected - it is both bush and corn mixed up).

Cakati humunhu cikati humombe (It is both man and beast).

Zakanga zakati motokare zikati midududu zikati goro zikati vanhu (There were motor-cars and motor-cycles and waggon and people).

Akati hucenjeri akati hufuza (He is both wise and foolish).

The verb -ti need not be repeated in the consecutive form if there is another expression conveying the 'both'.. and', 'some..others' idea.

e.g. Ndati kupa pfuma dzangu, dzimpe kunomukoma dzimpe kunomunupuna (I gave my wealth, some to my elder brother, some to my younger).

Ndati kupfekedza vana vangu, vampe hembe cema, vampe nhema (I have clothed my children, some with white garments, some with black).

800.

b) -ti as deficient verb.

The verb -ti is used deficiently with participials of all tenses to form compound predicates with introductory function. These occur at the beginning of sentences and state an occurrence upon which the rest of the sentence is dependent. The deficient verb -ti is in the indicative mood and the verbs that follow it are consecutive forms.

e.g. Mazuwa matanhatu akati apera amai vakadzokera
kumusha (Six days had passed and mother returned home)
Wati acisika mhuru ikafa (He was arriving and the calf died).

In English, the sense of the above sentences is, perhaps, best brought out by translating the compound predicate, in which -ti is the deficient verb, by a temporal clause.

viz. When three days had passed, mother returned home.

When he was arriving, the calf died.

801.

The difference between the above construction, in which -ti is a deficient verb and is joined with a participial complement in one compound predicate and tense combination, and the construction in which -ti is introductory to a sentence, should be noted. In the latter construction, the verb -ti stands outside the sentence it introduces. The main verb in the sentence which is introduced is in the indicative and it is separated from the introductory form of -ti by a temporal or conditional clause. The subject concord of the predicate of this clause may, or may not, be of the same person, number and class as that of the introductory form.

e.g. Kanoti, kana kunze kwadoka, kanocema kaciti: 'Hwe'
(What the little thing does is, when it has set outside, it cries saying: 'Hwe')

Mucena anoti, akaona mumbe wake acita cinhu
cinoshamisa anodada kuti: "Kukwira kworudzi
rwangu" (What an European does is, if he sees another of his (kind) doing a wonderful thing, he is proud, saying: "It is the progress of my race")

802.

The former construction is an integral part of the sentence it introduces, and is naturally followed, not by indicatives, but by consecutive forms.

Further, the participial which follows the introductory -ti form has a subject concord necessarily of the same person, number and class as that of the verb -ti.

e.g. Ndakazoti ndafamba kunyika inonzi Sanyati-ruseva ndikasanona kuti magariro avanhu akasiyana (I had come to travel to a country called Sanyati Reserve and I saw meanwhile that the ways of life of the people are different; viz. When I had come to travel to a country called Sanyati Reserve, I saw, at the time, that..)

Ndakati ndicifamba ndikeona cikwama munzira (When I was walking, I saw a purse on the path).

803.

Other examples of the tense combinations:

Past - present:

Ndakati ndicipinda ndikanzwa izwi raṣaṣa (When I was entering I heard the voice of my father).

Past - present perfect:

Uakati wagona kutaura nḽmi dzenyika, wakawane vobva vawandirwa navafundi (When they were able to speak the languages of the country, they found themselves forthwith overwhelmed with pupils).

Present - past:

Ndinoti ndasika ndobva ndadya ṣadza rangi (When I have arrived, I forthwith eat my porridge).

Present - future:

Ndinoti ndicasika ndonzwa imbga icihukura (When I am about to arrive, I hear the dog barking).

Future - past:

Ndicati ndaenda agosara osika (When I shall have gone, he will arrive).

Ndicati ndisina kusika agofanondigaririra (I will not have gone and he will meanwhile be waiting for me).

E) Deficient verbs followed by verbal participials of restricted form.

The deficient verbs in this section are used with verbal participial complements which are of one or other of the present tense forms. According to the type or types of complement with which they appear, they may be divided as follows:

1) Verbs used with verbal participial complements, both¹ in the perfect aspect and the exclusive implication.

²
viz. -ti (do, say);
-bva (come from)
-dzimara (end by, do at last)
-yerekana (chance on, happen on)

2) Verb used with verbal participial complements, in the present indefinite and exclusive implications, as well as in the perfect aspect.

viz. -ramba (refuse)

3) Verb used with the verbal participial, both in the present indefinite and the present perfect.

viz. -gara (stay)

4) Verbs used with verbal participial complements in the present indefinite.

viz. -pota (go round)
-ua (become)

5) Verbs used with verbal participial complements in the present perfect aspect.

viz. -tanga (begin)
-fa (die)
-isa (make bad)
-nguwa (spend time)
-mba (do at once)

1. These complements are usually in the recent past form and embody both inchoative and non-inchoative verb stems. I have regarded them all as present perfects but it is possible that, in the case of the non-inchoative verb stems, the participials are recent or non-recent pasts. e.g. Unobva waziwa (You know at once); lit. You come out you having known). Is waziwa present perfect or recent past indefinite? The former position seems to me to be more probable. Undoubtedly non-inchoative verbs do form perfects with the result that the recent or non-recent past forms are ambivalent. Cf. par. 598, 684.
2. The meanings attached to each verb stem belong to the non-deficient function.

6) Verbs used with verbal participials in the present exclusive implication.

viz. -uya (come)
-fuma (rise early)
-dzoka (return)
-wana (find)
-sara (remain)
-sika (arrive)

805.

1) Verbs used with verbal participial complements, both in the perfect aspect and the exclusive implication.

These verbs contain ideas germane to those of the

exclusive implication and may, perhaps, be said to extend the exercise of the exclusive outside the basic conjugation. 806.

a) The verb -ti (do, say)

The non-deficient use of -ti has already been mentioned in par. 794 -799.

The verb -ti in the present perfect aspect, whether indicative, participial or relative, functions as a present exclusive formative, but mainly in questions or denials. It is followed by a complement in the present perfect aspect or in the present exclusive, according as what is asserted or denied is the commencement of a state or an action.

e.g. -ti in the indicative:

-with participial perfect complement:

Ndati ndaenzana nenzombe iyo here? (Am I equal yet to that bull?)

Kwete, hawati)
hausati) wamboenzana nayo (No, you are not at all equal to it).

Mati maona nyoka here? (Have you ever seen a snake?)

Kwete, {hatati talona (No, we have not yet seen it).
{hatisati/talona

-with participial exclusive complement:

Mvura yati yona here? (Is it raining yet?)

Kwete {hayati yona (No, it has not yet started to
{haisati yona rain)

cp. Kwete, haisati yava kuna (No, it is not yet raining)

Mbambaira yati yosuda here? (Is the potato on the point of coming up yet?)

Kwete, hayati yosuda (No, it has not yet started to come up)

807.

-ti in the relative:

-with participial perfect complement:

Hapana candati ndakanda mukanwa (There is nothing which I have yet thrown into my mouth; viz. I haven't had a bite yet).

Nlani ati amboona mudutururu akadayi? (Who has yet seen such fools?)

Hapana munhu ati anonga munhega wecipungu (There is no one who has yet picked up a feather of an eagle).

808.

-ti in the participial:

-with participial perfect complement:

Hapana candakanga ndati ndakanda mukanwa (There is nothing which I had yet thrown into my mouth; viz I had not yet had a bite).

gore risati raSangopera-(The year being not yet even finished)

Asi, zuwa risati radoka kwese, vanhu vakati vazinzwa zinongunolwa (But, before the sun had set at all, the people had already heard what was being done).

809.

b) The verb -bva (come from)

As opposed to -ti in this exclusive function, the verb -bva, as deficient verb, is conjugated throughout. It is followed by either the present perfect or the present exclusive participial.

It may be translated by such terms as : 'at once', 'immediately' 'forthwith', 'thereupon' etc.

810.

-bva with present perfect complement:

e.g. Mjacewe, muzukuru, kubva wadaro hanzadzi yaamai bako! (Now, now, nephew, to go and treat like that the brother of your mother!)

In the imperative, the meaning of -bva is apparently something like 'Be sure and'.

e.g. Ibvayi marega kuzarira musuo! (Be sure you don't close the door!)

Ibva wamufata, udye! (Catch him right away and eat him; or: Be sure you catch and eat him!)

Ibva wagwara! (Be sure and watch out!)

In the subjunctive with imperative function the form¹ for the 2nd. person singular is often ubva.

e.g. Ukaona anenge okutevera, ubva wapunzira rimge dende pasi (If you see one who is following you, straightway break one calabash on the ground).

Ukaona ouya kuzocera mvura, ubva wamudya (If you see him come to (come and) draw water, eat him right away).

Ishe munoziba kuti zita rangu rinorewa kuti, kana uciudza mpana, ibva wamuudza ubve wamupedzesera (Chief, you know that my name says that, if you are telling a child, be sure and tell him (so that) you thereupon make it clear for him).

1. Cf. the similar form for the 2nd. person singular present subjunctive of the deficient verb -mba (do at once). e.g. Umba wainda! (Go at once!). Louw, p. 84.

The indicative:

Unobva waziwa kuti munhu uyu Soko caiyo (You thereupon know that this person is a real Soko (viz. one of the only Monkey clan)).

The potential:

Nikamudzopera izwi rangu iri randinaro rinenge mudende wafurudzwa, hura hwake huggabva wadimuka-dimuka (If I roar at him this voice of mine which I have, which is like a calabash blown with, his bowels would straightway break in pieces).

The participial:

Saka imba icibva yagarwa nabanhu iciri nyoro (Therefore the house is inhabited by people while still fresh)

The hortative:

Ggatiwe tazigura zokuitira vampe makuwa (Let us forthwith repent of slandering others).

811.

-bva with the exclusive: (examples are not so frequent as with the perfect).

The indicative:

Kana koda kubanyampisa, kanoti yampiseyi uyu, kobva koenda kunomumpe (When it wants to suckle them, it suckles this one and forthwith goes to another).

The present subjunctive:

Dzakadzidziwa kutsaga vanhu vanenge vacitambudzika igobva yonotaurira varidzi vayo (They have been taught to seek out people who are in trouble and it straightway goes and tells its masters - viz. the St. Bernard dog).

812.

c) The verb -dzimara (end by)

The complement of this verb is either the participial perfect or the participial exclusive. These complements seem to be used when the speaker intends to convey the idea of a result - either that of a state (in the perfect) or of an action (in the exclusive). The complement of this verb is otherwise subjunctive, seemingly when it is presented as an aim.

e.g. Mumpe mpama unoona angoti maziso maranga tsete anodzimara aomera tsiye dzake (You see another child whose eyes are just stuck together with eye-discharge who ends up by having hard eye-lashes lit. who ends by being hard with regard to his eye-lashes)

Joseph waizodzimara oenda oga ondoteterera akapfugama seri kwake (Joseph used in the end to go alone and go and plead kneeling behind him)

813.

-dzimara when in the infinitive or a consecutive form may function conjunctively, meaning 'until'.

Anondimirira kudzimara ndasika (He waits for me until I have arrived).

Ndicagara pano kudzimara kwoedza (I shall stay here until it dawns).

Alternative forms of -dzimara are -dakara, -dzamara, -dzamerara, -dzimana (Ka.), -dzikana (Ka.) and -dzinara (Ma.)

814.

d) The verb -yerekana (happen on, chance to, chance on).

In its non-deficient use, this verb means 'meet with by chance, suddenly etc.'

e.g. Ndikayerekana neshumba, ndinozotiza (If I meet with a lion, I will run away).

Used deficiently it is followed by participial complements, either perfect or exclusive, according as the complement expresses a state or an action.

e.g. Yakayerekana yawira mutsime (It happened to have fallen into a well).

Rege kufamba husiku, unoyerekana wafatwa neshumba (Don't travel at night, you will unexpectedly get caught by a lion).

Akayerekana ongokotsira (He suddenly just fell asleep)

Gare nekanzuru namadzihe rakafunga kuti wangayerekane potumirwa mapurisa naMudziti (The council-place with the councils and the chiefs thought that they might suddenly have police sent to them by the Native Commissioner).

Ndinoziza vanhu vazhinji vanongoyerekana opbvunzwa namapurisa (I know many people who are just without warning interrogated by the police).

cp. Yerekane asanduka (Suddenly he was changed) where the ideophone yerekane functions, not only predicatively, but deficiently as well, being followed by the perfect complement.

815.

2) Verb used with verbal participial complements in the present - indefinite, perfect and exclusive.

The verbs in this, and the two following sections, contain ideas similar to those of the continuous aspect and may, perhaps, be considered as extending the use of that aspect beyond the basic conjugation.

816.

a) The verb -ramba.

In its non-deficient function, this verb means 'refuse'.

e.g. Ndakaramba kutora (I refused to take).

Examples of its function as deficient verb with indefinite participial:

e.g. nokugona kuramba ndiripo kwegore rose (and to be able to go on being here all the year).

Wakaramba acipfutidza moto mushoma-shoma (He kept on feeding a very small fire).

- in the participial:

Kana matambudziko airamba aripo, gange yaibvunwa kana ciripo cinge cakasiyiwa (If the troubles continued being there, the diviner would be asked if there was something which was omitted).

- in the subjunctive:

Ubva wapunzira rimge denge pasi, iwe urambe ucienda zako (Be sure and break one calabash on the ground, and you keep on going).

817.

-ramba with perfect participial complement:

- in the indicative:

Ndakaramba ndakadaro (I remained like that)

- in the subjunctive:

Urambe wakandidzinyata ruoko rwangu tife kakadaro (You keep holding me by the hand and we die like that).

818.

-ramba with exclusive participial complement:

- in the infinitive:

Uashamqari havana kuzomboziva kuti vapararana seyi navampe vavo; ndokuramba vongocienda nesangoro (Her friends never came to know how she separated from her companions; and she kept on then just going through that bush).

- in the relative:

Zita raakazoramba odanidzwa naro panzimbo perokunzi Kalemba.. (The name which he was thenceforward constantly called instead of being called Kalemba..)

819.

3) Verb used with the verbal participial both in the present indefinite and in the present perfect.

This verb is -gara (stay). In its function as deficient verb it means 'keep on', a meaning similar to -ramba.

-gara with the present indefinite complement:

- in the indicative:

Dzinogara dzicisukwa mazwasa ose (They keep being washed every day).

Wakambogara usinganyime here? (Was there ever a time when you were not stingy; lit. Did you ever stay not stinting?)

- in the hortative:

Zuwa iri harigare ricidzoka nokufara (May this day keep coming back with happiness - viz. Many happy returns of this day!)

-gara with the present perfect complement:

- in the indicative:

Imba yake yaigara yakati nde navatendi (His house used always to be thronged by the faithful).

820.

4) Verbs used with verbal participial complements in the present indefinite.

a) The verb -pota (go round)

In its function as deficient verb it means 'go on', a meaning similar to -ramba.

e.g. in the infinitive:

Cokudya cinofanira kupota cicipinduraniswa (Food ought to continually be varied; lit. ought to go on being varied).

Uanhu vatema vakabvumirwa kuita misangano yavo yokupota vacitaura zinovatambudza (The Africans were allowed to hold their meetings (for the purpose) of continually discussing what troubles them).

- in the imperative:

Cipota ucifumira kundotanda mapfeni! (Keep on getting up early now to go and chase the baboons away)

821.

b) The verb -va (become)

In its function as deficient verb with participial present indefinite complement, this verb means 'be continually', a meaning similar to that of -ramba with the participial present.

e.g. in the imperative:

Iva uciuya nekuno (Be continually coming through here, keep coming through here).

- in the potential:

Ugawe uciuya nekuno (You can keep coming through here)

822.

5) Verbs used with verbal participial complements in the present perfect.

a) The verb -tanga (begin)

In its function as a deficient verb, -tanga retains the above meaning.

e.g. in the contracted infinitive:

Rega ndimbotanga ndasuda panze (Let me first go outside; lit. Let me first begin having gone outside)

4n the imperative:

Taggayi mafunda kana dare iri rinecipundutso mukati medu (First find out whether this council has any advantages among us).

- in the subjunctive:

Waida kuti atange akotsira (They were wanting him first to sleep, that he should first sleep).

823.

b) The verb -fa (die)

In its function as a deficient verb, -fa is used in the negative to rule out the possibility of an action or state indicated by the complement.

e.g. - in the contracted infinitive:

Hambofa agona kutaura kana kunzwa kusatoti aseekeswa necimpe cinhu (She will never be able to speak or to hear unless she has been made to laugh by something; lit. She will never die being able to speak..)

- in the indicative:

Handife ndakaita izi (I never do this)

Eukacafa kwakapapo (It will never be)

- in the relative:

..kwaasingafe akaona zokudya (...where he never finds food)

824.

c) The verb -isa (spoil)

In its use as a deficient verb, -isa means 'preferably', 'rather', and urges the action or state indicated by the complement as the course to be followed.

e.g. in the infinitive:

Unotambudzireyi mombe; ko, kuisa waiuraya zako? (Why are you troubled about the head-if-cattle; isn't it better for you to kill it?; lit. what about to preferably you having killed it for your part?).

- in the imperative:

Isa wamupa! (Better give to him!)

- in the indicative:

Ndinoisa ndaregera zangu kusebenza (I find it better to stop work).

- in the potential:

Ndingaise ndafa zangu (I would rather die).

825.

d) The verb -nguva (spend time)

"Kunguva followed by the past or perfect dependent indicative" signifies "that the action took place a long time ago"¹.

e.g. "Murume uya wakauya here?" "Hogo, wanguva agara pamukova" (Did that man come? "Yes, he has been sitting at the door a long time").

The verb -nguva seems to be confined to Ka. This is the case as well with the following verb.

826.

e) The verb -mba (do at once)

e.g. Wamba awira pasi (He fell down at once)²

This verb in its function as deficient verb replaces the use of -bva in Ka. Note that the positive subjunctive present, 2nd. person, singular of this verb also has terminative -a.

e.g. Umba wainda (Go at once!)

1. Louw, p.83

2. Louw, p.84

827.

6) Verbs used with verbal participials in the present exclusive implication.

a) The verb -uya (come)

In its use as a deficient verb, -uya refers to the return or the arrival of a person or persons other than its subject.

e.g. The wife of Tortoise is told by Baboon to give her husband a message on his return from hunting:

Eveni wakati: "Ndinofara kwazo nokutenda zikuru; asi mugouya momuudza kuti zanzi naEveni: 'Uya kuno kumafiko'" (Baboon said: "I am very glad and very grateful, but you tell him on his return that so said Baboon: 'Come here to the dinner'")

- in the present subjunctive:

Uye womuudza kuti wanga ucinzi zakadayi (Tell him on his return that you were told to that effect).

- in the contracted infinitive:

Mugouya mokwazisa vanaamai naBaba (Greet the ladies and gentlemen when they come).

- in the indicative:

Unouya woti kunaamai bako (On her return you will tell your mother).

828.

b) The verb -fuma (rise early)

In its use as a deficient verb with present exclusive complement, -fuma signifies that the action indicated by the complement will happen on the morrow or quite soon.

e.g. in the indicative:

Imi madzishe munofanira kuti murembidze vanhu venyu kuita zakadayi nokuti magwana vanofuma votambudzika (You chiefs ought to forbid your people to do things like this because they will soon meet with trouble - lit. tomorrow they will get up now troubled).

Ukarera imbaga nomukaka, magwana inofuma yokuruma (If you bring up a dog on milk, he will bite you tomorrow).

- in the contracted infinitive:

...nyika yokugara nenzimbo dzokugara dzavavoziva kuti havazofuma votandaniswa (...a country to inhabit and places to live in which they know they will not soon be chased away from).

829.

c) The verb -dzoka (return)

In its use as a deficient verb, -dzoka means that the action indicated by its complement is contrary to expectation or right usage.

e.g. - in the indicative:

Kana kaye kakapinda mukabakomo kakadzoka kodya
nzungu dziyemo (That little child entered into
the little cave and went and ate those nuts there
(instead of giving them to his father, the owner)).

Panzimbo pokupa muviri wedu vitamins, tinodzoka topa
tupukanana (Instead of giving our body vitamins,
we instead give them microbes).

Ugoti iwe uciBatsirwa wodzoka worova mumpe! (When you
are being helped you go and beat another!)

Wadzoka wotanga kundituka (He went and cursed me).

- in the subjunctive:

Ndimi maitise kuti adzoke arasa nzira (It is you who
caused him to go and lose his way).

cp. the similar use of the derived ideophone dzoke, used
with similar complement:

Ibva! Ndakakupa zokudya musi uye, dzoke wotiza
nehompe yomurume wangu, sare wonditukisa (Go
away! I gave you food that day and you went
and ran off with my husband's bag and afterwards
he cursed me).

830.

d) The verb -wana (find)

In its use as a deficient verb, -wana presents its complement
as a result or a consequence. It seems to mean little more
than the English 'then'.

Niakamanya kwazo kuwana ndobuda ropa munhuno (I ran
very hard the result being that I bled from the
nose).

Dakazoti wagona kutaura ndimi dzenyika, vakawana wobva
vawandirwa navafundu (When they were able to speak
the languages of the country, they found themselves
straightway overwhelmed with pupils).

cp. the similar use of the derived ideophone wane (and then)
used with an exclusive complement.

e.g. Sike panaGwari pumu, vakabva vati burururu mudenga
wane wogoti tsika tsika tsika tsika vari mudenga
wane Gwari oda kuBata akati pasi mhu.

This is the description of an attack by an eagle on a
partridge. The translation might run as follows: (The eagle)

arrived at Partridge - attack -thereupon they flew into the sky then they just went round and round in the sky, one chasing the other, and then Partridge was about to be caught and he dropped down on the earth).

831.

e) The verb -sara (remain)

As a deficient verb, -sara indicates that the action indicated by its complement takes the place or took place after a parting or separation.

e.g. in the indicative:

Kakasara kotora musoro uye kppinda nawo muguru (And afterwards he took that head and entered with it into the hole).

Pavakaenda akasara odaya hove yompana; kuzoti acadya, akasayiwa nesawa pahuru akacema kwazo (When they went he then ate the child's fish; while he was still eating, he was pierced in the throat by a bone and he cried out loud).

Manditaurira mukati: 'Unosara wotora mbambaira, wofika' (You told me and said: "You stay and take the sweet potato and cook it").

- in the contracted infinitive:

Kana iwe Jakata ucida kuti wana wangu wandoperera kuhondo yavaRumbi, vurayeni kutanga ugosara wovstumira ndafa (If you, Jakata, want to send my children to die in the European war, kill me first and then send them when I am dead).

- in the participial:

Kana mosara mowana dzose, mocitora zenyu (If you find them afterwards, just take them).

832.

F) Verb followed by a verbal complement in the relative.

This verb is -nge (seem). When followed by a relative qualificative pronoun, the compound predicate thus formed indicates an action or state which is likely or probable.

e.g. in the indicative:

1

Ungge washongedzeka nhasi! (You seem to be decked out today!)

1. The verb -nge (seem), like the verb -ri (be), forms the present indefinite without the auxiliary formative -no-. The form ndinenge (I seem) is also in use.

It may be objected that the combination of -nge (seem) + relative qualificative pronoun is not a true case of deficient verb + complement since what follows on -nge in these cases is not strictly speaking, a verb, but a pronoun, albeit based on a verb, and that there is no essential difference between this case and others in which -nge is followed by a complement which is not a relative.

Cp. Unenge Genzi (You seem a fool)
and Unenge washongedzeka nhasi (You seem to be decked out today; lit. You seem one who is decked out today).

It is quite true that the relative which follows on -nge is

(Footnote from the previous page continued)

a pronoun. Nevertheless the two forms, with their subject concords agreeing in person, number and class, give me the impression of fitting together into a compound, unitary predicate. Although the complement is a pronoun, it remains true that it is a pronoun based on a verb, and can therefore function as a verbal complement.

Tenge ticaruma (We are now likely to be bitten).

Danenge vanofunga kuti mari yazo inotorwa pacena pasina cavanozoitirwa (They seem to think that their money will be taken openly without their having anything done for them).

Anege asakapfeka (He seems undressed).

Cp. Anege a[~]sakapfeka (He will be undressed).
(In the last example, the complement is, of course, participial).

- in the participial:

Ndinoti, kanandiciraggarira nyaya dzaitaurwa navarume aya, ndinobva ndange ndiri kuwona namaziso aggu (What I do is, when I think of the news spoken by these men, straightway I seem to be seeing them with my eyes).

Wakawona kakomana kakagumbata mako ako zakasimba kwazo, kacinge kari kuvanza cinge cinhu ciri pamoyo pako (They saw a little boy clasping his hands together tightly, seeming to be hiding something by his heart).

Rakawona mombe icinge yakasinura (It saw a beast seemingly awake).

833.

G) Deficient verbs followed by verbal complements in the subjunctive.

The following verbs are used with verbal complements in the subjunctive: 1) -ti (say, do)
2) -dzimara (end by doing, do at last)
3) -rega (stop)

834.

1) the verb -ti, when followed by a complement in the present subjunctive, indicates that the action or state indicated by the complement is, was, or will be attempted or envisaged, but is not, was not, or will not be fulfilled.

e.g. in the indicative:

Ndinoti ndimupe nyama obva aramba (I try to give him meat and forthwith he refuses).

Ndinoti ndisamupe nyama obva acema (I try not to give him meat and he forthwith cries).

The general introductory function of -ti appears to enter into this use as well. Thus the examples may be translated.

Whenever I try to give him meat, he refuses forthwith.
Whenever I try not to give him meat, he cries forthwith.

- in the contracted infinitive:

Kana ndicinyora kudayi, handisiri kuti: "Regayi kucengeta ici cisi". Ndiri kutoti ndizise muridzi waco (When I write to this effect, I am not saying: "Don't observe this anniversary". I am only trying to know its owner, viz. the one in whose honour it is observed).

- in the participial:

Aciti ataure, ini ndakamurambidza (As he was trying to speak, I prevented him).

- in the indicative present habitual:

Ndinociti ndiyambuke rukova ndiciona makarwe (Whenever I tried to cross the river, I saw crocodiles).

- in the past habitual (with the deficient verb in the passive):

Gugano rainzi rive recintararire (The meeting was supposed to be secret)

- in the future:

Ucuzoti uyambuke rukova ugobva waona garwe (Once you try to cross the river you will see the crocodile).

- in the potential:

Angati adye muti uyu agorutse (If he would try to eat this medicine, he would vomit).

Angati asadye muti uyu, haangapire (If he would not try to eat this medicine he would not recover).

- in the participial:

Ndiciti ndiende wondibata (When I try to go he catches me)

Ndakanga ndati ndidye ndikadzixxa (I had tried to eat and I choked).

Oajuru waye waiiti, nditi ndisike padyo, wabva wakuggurukira pasi (What Mr. Ant was doing was, when he tried to draw near (lit. I trying to arrive near), he would roll down on the ground).

835.

The formative -ci- is frequently used in the complement of these compound predicates. In these cases, the terminative of the complement reverts to -a.

e.g. Kuzoti ini ndikati ndicikwazisa, abva anyarara (When I tried to greet, he kept quiet).

Kuzoti oti ndicizonoti swatanu (When it was about to stretch itself)

In the last example, the complement to -ti is put in direct

speech. As also in the following in which -ti is in the relative:

Ndakaona murume akati ndiyambuke rukova, akabva ayeredzwa (I saw a man who attempted to cross and forthwith he was swept away).

836.

2) The verb -dzimara (end by) - and allied forms (Cf. par. 813). These verbs are used with a subjunctive complement, seemingly when the speaker wishes to convey the notion of an aim or purpose underlying the compound predicate. They are also used with participial complements, either present perfect or present exclusive, seemingly when the notion of a result arrived at is stressed. With regard to the subjunctive complement, the verb -dzimara in the present and future tenses may be followed, either by a present, or by a past, subjunctive, the conditions determining the use of either of these complements not being clear. Possibly the past subjunctive is used when it is a question of a state which is aimed at.¹ After -dzimara in the past indicative, the past subjunctive is used.

The verb -dzimara, as a verb stem and in the infinitive, is used conjunctively.

e.g. In the imperative, -dzimara is followed only by the present subjunctive.

Dzimara udye (Eat at last).

-in the indicative present with present subjunctive:

Dampe vanodzimara vaita vana vaviri vasina kucata (Some go on until they have two children without being married).

-in the indicative future with present subjunctive:

Munhu acadzimara afe (Man will die in the end; Man will go on until he dies)

Ndicadzimara ndiripedze (I shall finish it in the end, I shall go on until I finish it).

Unodzimara uroore ndiciri kufunda (You will end up by marrying while I am still studying)

-in the indicative future with the past subjunctive:

Ndicadzimara ndikasika (I shall go on until I have arrived).

Unodzimara ukaroora ndiciri kufunda (You will end by being married while I am still studying).

1. In which case the subjunctive may be a perfect.
Cf. par. 719.

- in the indicative past with past subjunctive:

Yakadzimara ikafa (It died at last).

Kunze kwakadzimara kukaedza (The outside dawned at last)

- in the present subjunctive, -dzimara is followed by the present subjunctive.

Ndicagara pano ndidzimane ndipiwe (I shall stay here until I am given).

Mumba imomo munoberekwa vana kashoma kashoma vadzimare vawande (In that home there are born children little by little until they are numerous).

In the above two examples, -dzimara is in the subjunctive as a consecutive form. In consecutive forms it is natural to translate -dzimara by 'until', as they have a quasi-conjunctive function.

- in the past subjunctive followed by the present subjunctive

Vakamutora vakadakara vasike panyanza (They took him until they should arrive at the sea).

- in the past subjunctive followed by the past subjunctive:

Wamirira ndikadzimara ndikasika (He waited until I was come).

Nyika yose wakapera zikadakara zikasika kurukousa runonzi Zambezi (The whole country was destroyed until you are come to the river Zambezi).

Wakanwa akadzamara akapedza nyota (He drank until he had slaked his thirst).

837.

3) The verb -rega (stop)

When used non-deficiently, -rega means 'stop'.

e.g. Rega kuuya! (Don't come, stop coming!)

Used deficiently in the imperative and followed by a present subjunctive, it means 'allow, let'.

e.g. Regayi ndidavire (Allow me to reply).

Regayi timire pakati pecuru mugobatidza (Let us stand in the middle of the anthep and you set (it) alight).

A, zawadaro, rega ndisenhomotsere cimba cakoyo (Ah, since you have done that, let me push down that little squat house of yours).

The applied form -regera may also be used in the same way.

Regera vapiwe munda kuti vawane hupenyu hwazo nenzira yakanaka (Let them be given a field so that they may win their livelihood in an honest way).

1. The same two meanings are expressed in the English verb, 'let', viz. both 'hinder' and 'allow'.

838.

Note the following idiom which employs this form:

Rega afe nokuseka (Let him die with laughing; viz.
And he laughed heartily).

Havomba kumundayo. Rega vabinduke kupikinura mundayo
tione pfuma yakarewa nasa (There they are off to
that field. Let them work hard to uncover that
field so that we may see the wealth spoken of by
father; viz. And they worked hard uncovering..)

Rega ndinwe, a ! ndakazimbirwa kwazo (I drank and drank,
I tell you I got full).

Rega atize iwe ! (And didn't he run, I tell you!)

839.

H) Deficient verb followed by a personal copulative in the participial

This verb is the copulative deficient verb -nge (be).

It is followed by the participial forms, both positive and negative, of the personal copulatives formed with conjunctive adverbial stems.¹

e.g. -nge in the past:

Ndanga ndilinegumbo (I had a sore leg; lit. I was I
with a leg)

Ndanga ndisinasasa (I had no father; lit. I was I
without a father).

-nge in the past habitual:

Waitobe waifundisa husiku cete kuwe muswero wezuwa
wainge anamasasa (He used only to teach at night
because during the day he used to have (his) work).

-nge in the past subjunctive:

Mukadzi ekege ainenhumbu ndo kuzodya ivu kuti nyika
irege kusema mgana (The woman, if pregnant, eats
soil so that the land may not be at enmity with
her child).

840.

I) Deficient verb followed by a personal copulative in the relative.

This verb is -nge, meaning 'seem, appear'. It is followed by the relative forms, both positive and negative, of the personal copulative formed with conjunctive adverbial stem.

e.g. Unge unecinokuwawa (You seem to have something
itching you; viz. You are asking for
trouble).

Musha wange usinavanh (The village seemed deserted).

Munetenge munavanh (It does look as if people
are inside)

1. Cf. par. 871 for the treatment of the personal copulatives.

J) Verbs followed by the impersonal copulative.

These verbs are 1) -pa (become), normally followed by the participial, and 2) -nge (seem), normally followed by the relative.

842.

1) The verb -pa (become)

Impersonal copulatives are found as complements after the verb -pa (become) used deficiently. Such complementary copulatives are chiefly of the type: formative ndi- (ndo-, nde-, nda-) + pronominal stem but other copulatives with nominal and qualificative pronominal stems are found as well.

e.g. -pa with copulatives of uncontracted absolute pronominal stem:

Munhu waniakupayi uyu anokubatsirayi, pakare anova ndiye mucegeti wenyu (This person whom I have given you will help you, further he is your guardian).

Runyararo panova ndipo pacazoiswa ceci..(Runyararo which is where a church will be built..)

Nokuti murume anenge asanduka, aya ndiye baba womukadzi (Because the husband seems changed, and to have become the father of the wife).

Akaramba acilita munamato wake unova ndiwo wokupedzesera waaita (He went on making his prayer which was to be the last that he would make).

Zingawe ndizo (It may be so)

-pa with copulatives of contracted absolute pronominal stem:

Zingawe ndoo zakarurama (It^o can be the ones which are right; it may be the right ones).

Mahometani akawe ndoo akamusakisa kuwira zikuru nehasa (The Mohomedans were the ones which made him boil up with wrath).

1. It is not certain whether the distinction of moods into indicative, participial and relative should apply to the impersonal copulative. Hence the copulative complements in this section are not distinguished according to mood. For the treatment of the impersonal copulative, cf. parr. 851-70.
2. For the copulatives formed with these contracted stems, cf. par. 858.

843.

A frequent construction involving these compound predicates is for such a copulative with a contracted class 15 absolute pronominal stem, or, in Ma., with a class 15 uncontracted stem, to be followed by an infinitive in apposition to the pronominal stem of the copulative, the total combination of copulative and infinitive forming the complement of the copulative deficient verb -wa in the past subjunctive, of consecutive narrative. The total construction marks a step in the narrative.

e.g. Munge wao akati: "Ugatiendeyi naye kurukowa". Bakave ndoo kutakura cituna cake uacienda naco kurwizi (One of them said: "Let us take him to the river". Then they took up his corpse taking it to the river).

Bakave ndoo kutakura (lit. They became it is to take up; viz. And they took up).

Paukankwira kuti akotsira, vakaciye ndoo kuuya nokupinda mumba cinyararire (When they heard that he was asleep, they then came and entered the house silently).

Kupera kwezi zituna izo zipenyu zikave ndoo kuitwa mudungwe (After this, those living corpses were formed into a line)

Akati kwanyanu akaciye ndoo kushevedzera nezwi rokufara (He got up and then cried out with a glad voice).

It is probably from this longer construction, by the elision of the copulative verb, that the common consecutive forms: ndoo + the infinitive, or, in Ma., ndiko + the infinitive, have come about. Commonly the copulative is shortened to ndo.

e.g. Ndakaenda Harare ndikave ndoo kutenga hembe (I went to Salisbury and bought clothes).

This consecutive form is equivalent to:

ndoo kutenga hembe
ndiko kutenga hembe (Ma.)
ndo kutenga hembe

844.

-wa with copulatives formed from nouns:

e.g. PaRunyararo panova inzimbo ingatoiswa ceci..(At Runyararo which is a place where a church can be built..)

panova inzimbo (lit. where is it is a place)

Unotemereyi muti unova muti wakanaka kwazo? (Why do you cut a tree which is a very good tree indeed?)

Ishe wandakupayi uyu anova ndibaba wangu zakare
anozokutogayi zakanaka (This chief whom I have
given you, and who, further, is my father, will
rule you well).

-va with copulatives formed from qualificative pronouns:

Ishe wandakupayi anova ndowangu zakare akabva kure (The
chief which I have given you, and who is mine also,
came from far).

Jongwe randakupa, rinova rimpe ramaviri akasera kumusha,
rakanaka (The cook which I have given you, which
is one of two which remained at home, is good).

845.

2) The verb -nge (seem).

Copulatives are used as complements after -nge (seem).

Examples are not numerous and seem to be restricted to
copulatives formed with absolute pronominal stems.

e.g. Pandakamuona akanga acinge ndiye mukuru wabo (When
I saw him he was seeming to be the chief one
among them).

Akafunga kuti anenge ndiye mucengeti wamakuva (She
thought he was probably the keeper of the
graves).

Ishe anofunga enge ndiye mutongi wemhosa asi haasati
ariyefa (The chief thinks he seemingly is the
judge of the case but it is not he).

CHAPTER X

THE COPULATIVE.

846.

The copulative is a predicative formed from a substantive or an adverbial by the addition of a copulative formative. In the copulative, then, two elements may be distinguished:

- 1) the copulative stem, which is the word from which the copulative is formed, and
- 2) the copulative formative, which varies according to the nature of the copulative stem.

e.g. ndiṣaṣa (it is father)

In this copulative, -ṣaṣa is the copulative stem. It is a class 1a noun, meaning 'father'. The copulative formative is ndi-.

847.

Copulatives in Shona are either personal or impersonal. They are personal (or subjectival) when the word which forms the copulative stem is predicated of a subject indicated by a subject concord. Included in this category of personal copulatives are copulatives with subject concords of classes 7, 8 and 15 used impersonally or indefinitely.¹

e.g. ndinenzara (I am with hunger, I am hungry)

kunecando (there is with cold, it is cold)

hazineyi (not they with what, it is nothing - of no consequence).

In these copulatives, the copulative formative consists of the subject concord.²

The stems of personal copulatives consist of conjunctive adverbials (viz. adverbials formed of formative na- + adverbial stem) and, in the negative, the enclitic forms of the demonstrative qualificative pronouns, 2nd. position, of class 16-18.

1. There should be no difficulty about calling copulatives with such subject concords personal, in the sense that such concords are said to belong to the 3rd. person.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

2. This is a convenient way of speaking. It may be a truer description to say that when conjunctive adverbials are used with subject concords, the formative na- assumes the function of a copulative verb in addition to its function as adverbial formative.

848.

Copulatives are impersonal (or non-subjectival) when the word forming the copulative stem is predicated, or asserted to exist, without reference to a subject.

e.g. naisa (it is father)

In these copulatives the copulative formative consists of either the impersonal copulative formatives ndi- (or one of its derived forms nde-, nda- or ndo-) or i-; or a modification of the prefix or prefixal formative of a substantive by raising its tone from low to high.

The stems of the impersonal copulative are all substantives.

849.

Copulatives undergo a limited conjugation. Thus personal copulatives are found in the indicative, participial and relative moods in both positive and negative conjugations. Impersonal copulatives are found in the positive and, in Ma., in the negative as well. The distinction of the impersonal copulatives into moods is not established. Both types of copulative may function as complements to deficient verbs. Cf. part, 839-841.

850.

Since copulatives express the existence of persons or things when impersonal, and express the existence of possession, viz. 'be with', when personal, they take the place of the verb 'be' in English. In cases where copulatives are not used, the copulative verbs -ri (be) and -ua (become) are used, copulatives and copulative verbs being mutually exclusive in their use.

851.

A. The impersonal copulative, positive.

I. Impersonal copulatives formed from nouns and adjectival qualificative pronouns.

a) Copulatives are formed from nouns and adjectival qualificative pronouns of classes 5, 9 and 10 by prefixing

to them formative 1- of high tone.

Nouns

e.g.	ibanga (it is a knife)	cp. banga (knife) (5)
	ishumba (it is a lion)	shumba (lion) (9)
	imombe (it is cattle)	mombe (cattle) (10)

1. Cf. Doke, Zulu, par. 503; Lamba.476.

Adjectival qualificative pronouns

- irefu (e.g. ɓaŋga) (it is a long one (e.g. knife))
cp. refu (long one) (5)
- ihuru (e.g. ʃhamba) (it is a big one (e.g. lion))
cp. huru (big one) (9)
- izhinji (e.g. mombe) (it is many ones (e.g. cattle))
cp. zhinji (many ones) (10)

In Ze. and Ma., in the case of the nouns and adjectival qualificative pronouns of monosyllabic stem belonging to these classes, the formative i- is substituted for the epenthetic i- of low tone.

Nouns

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| e.g. igo (it is a wasp) | cp. igo (wasp) (5) Ze. Ma. |
| | go (wasp) (5) Ka. |
| imbga (it is a dog) | imbga (dog) (9) Ze. Ma. |
| | mbga (dog) (9) Ka. |
| imbga (it is dogs) | imbga (dogs) (10) Ze. Ma. |
| | mbga (dogs) (10) Ka. |

Adjectival qualificative pronouns.

- idza (e.g. ɓaŋga) (it is a new one (e.g. knife)).
cp. idza (new one) (5) Ze. Ma.
dza (new one) (5) Ka.
- itʂa (e.g. imba) (it is a new one (e.g. house)).
cp. itʂa (new one) (9) Ze. Ma.
tʂa (new one) (9) Ka.
- ina (e.g. mombe) (it is four ones (e.g. cattle)) Ze. Ma.
cp. ina (four ones) (10) Ze. Ma.
- inna (e.g. mombe) (it is four ones (e.g. cattle)) Ka.
cp. nna (four ones) (10) Ka.

852.

b) Copulatives are formed from nouns and adjectival qualificative pronouns of other classes, except class 1a, by raising the tone of the noun prefix and the pronominal prefixal formative from low to high.

Nouns

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| e.g. m̄nhu (it is a person) | cp. munhu (person) (1) |
| oĩgaro (it is a chair) | cigaro (chair) (7) |

Adjectival qualificative pronouns.

- m̄urefu (e.g. munhu) (it is a tall one (e.g. person))
cp. murefu (tall one) (1)
- oĩkuru (e.g. cigaro) (it is a big one (e.g. chair))
cp. cikuru (big one) (7)

In cases where the prefix has coalesced with the initial phone of a vowel-commencing noun stem, the whole of the first syllable is high in tone.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| e.g. hw̄ahwa (it is beer) | cp. hwahwa (beer) (14) |
|---------------------------|------------------------|

Copulatives are formed from class 15 nouns, as in the case of other nouns, by raising the tone on the prefix.

e.g. kufamba (it is walking) cp. kufamba (to walk, walking)

There is also another copulative formative of the form hu-¹ of high tone, which replaces the prefix of class 15 nouns.

e.g. hufamba (it is walking)

When the copulative stem is qualified in either of the above constructions, the concords employed are those of class 15.

e.g. hudya kwako kwaunoita (it is the sort of eating
you practise)

hudyyai kwakadaro? (What sort of eating is this; lit.
it is what eating which is like
that?)

853.

Examples of the copulatives in a) and b):

a) Ishumba yandana (It is a lion which I saw).

Idoro randidakisa (It is beer which made me drunk).

Idombo here? Kwete, ihamba (Is it a stone? No, it
is a tortoise).

Igo randiruma (It is a wasp which stung me).

Tsimbo idzi izhinji asi ipfupi kwandiri (These sticks
are numerous but are (too) small for
me. lit, it is short ones to me).

b) Kufamba kwamuzimbisa makumbo (It is walking which made
his legs swell).

Nhumbi dzedu hupfu cete (Our possessions are flour only;
lit; as for our possessions,
it is flour only)

Iga, hueiku! (I say, it is night!)

Mukadzi uyu mukuru (This woman is a big one; lit. As
for this woman, it is a big one).

Uyu mukadzi mukuru (This is a senior woman)

Nombe iyi indiki paneiyo (This beast is small compared
to that one)

-
1. The above construction may be the equivalent of what is called "The HU- tense" in Ashton, Swahili Grammar, pp.38, 256, where hu- is derived from ni- (the impersonal copulative formative) and the class 15 prefix ku-. D.T. Cole has conjectured that this may be the derivation of the formative hu- in K1. cf. African Studies, Vol.8, No. 4, December, 1949, p. 202.

Nezo tinoona kuti waRungu wazhinji wanehupenyu
hwakasimba Cikonzero kuya (And so we see that many
Europeans have good health. As for the cause, it is
food).

The possessive cokwadi, which functions as an adverbial
meaning 'truly', is being used as if it were a copulative
stem of class 5 or 9.

e.g. Izi iookwadi (These things are true)

854.

c) From nouns of class 1a, copulatives are formed with
the prefixal copulative formative ndi- of high tone.

e.g. ndimambo (it is the chief)	cp. mambo (chief)
nditezara (it is father-in-law)	tezara (father-in-law)
ndiMareke (it is Mareke - said by a man senior to Mareke)	
ndiani? (It is who?)	ani? (who?)
ndisabuku (it is the village head)	sabuku (village head)
ndinyakuuraya (it is the murderer)	nyakuuraya (murderer)

The nouns mai (mother) and mbuya (grandmother) function as
stems for this formative; if qualified, plural concords are
used of members of the mai or mbuya classes of women who are
senior to the speaker.

ndimai wangu (it is my mother)
ndimbuya wangu (it is my grandmother)

855.

d) From nouns of class 2a, copulatives are formed with
the prefixal copulative formative nda-. This formative is
low in tone and is followed by the class 2a prefix of high tone.
Class 2a nouns may also form copulatives by mere tonal change.
The nature of this is still obscure but the tone of the prefix
remains high. Plurals with the prefix of class 6 in secondary
function, form copulatives by raising the tone on the prefix
according to the general rule.

e.g. Class 2a honorific plurals

ndaamai (it is mother)	cp. amai (mother)
ndaambuya (it is grand-mother)	ambuya (grandmother)
ndaavatete (it is father's sister)	vatete (father's sister)
ndaavambuya (it is mother-in-law)	vambuya (mother-in-law)
ndaavamjene (it is husband's mother)	vamjene (husband's mother)

ndavamareke (it is Mareke - said by a man junior to Mareke)
 ndavasabuku (it is the village head - of the speaker)
 cp. sabuku (village head)

e.g. Class 2a plurals of number

ndavamai (it is the mothers) cp. vamai (mothers)
 ndavadzimai (it is the several mothers) cp. vadzimai (several mothers)
 vadzimai (do.)

ndavamambo (it is the chiefs) cp. vambambo (chiefs)
 ndavadzimambo (it is the several chiefs) cp. vadzimambo (several chiefs)
 vadzimambo (do.)

856.

Further examples of copulatives in c) and d):

e.g. Ndibasa auya zino uno (It is father who came just now).

Ndiani wako? (It is your who?; viz. Who is sheto you?)
 Ndibatete vangu (It is my paternal aunt).

Rege kupopotana nao, ndavadzibasa wako (Don't quarrel with them, it is your fathers).

NdavaJojo, havasiri vamaMareke (It is Jojo, it is not Mareke; lit. he is not Mareke)

Ndavambuya; havasiri ambuya (It is the mother-in-law; it is not the grandmother; lit. she is not the grandmother).

Ciri kurwadza munhu wenyu ndaambuya wake (What is making your person sick (it) is his grandmother)

Ndizambezi anokurira dzimpe hova (It is the Zambezi which is bigger than the other rivers).

857.

II. Impersonal copulatives formed from absolute pronouns

Copulatives are formed from absolute pronouns by the addition to the pronoun of the prefixal copulative formative ndi- of high tone, the initial vowel of the pronoun being elided.

e.g. ndini (it is I) cp. ini (I) 1st. person
 ndiye (it is he) iye (he) 3rd. person, class 1
 ndico (it is it) ico (it) 3rd. person, class 7

These copulatives may be used with substantives which stand in apposition to the pronominal stem of the copulative.

- Note that in the negative, Ze.mā Ka. do not use the impersonal copulative formative but the copulative verb -ri (be).

e.g. Nini Jiri (It is I, Jiri; I am Jiri)

Ndiwe ani? (It is you, who?; Who are you?)

Ici ndico cigaro candatenga nhasi (This one it is it
the chair which I bought today; This is
the chair which I bought today).

In this way the predication becomes more definite or pointed than that conveyed by means of the copulative formed from the substantive alone.

858.

In this construction the copulatives formed with the absolute pronominal stem are frequently contracted, the longer forms, ndiwo, ndico, ndizo etc., all becoming ndoo. But in the copulative with the absolute pronoun of class 1 for stem, viz. ndiye (it is he), is not so contracted and, in Ma., the longer forms appear to be the only ones in use.

Examples of these copulatives, both uncontracted and contracted, with nouns in apposition to the pronominal stem:

e.g. Uyu ndiye munhu wandanga ndicireva (This is the
person I was speaking of).

Ayo ndiwo } mazhanje aticadya (Those are the wild loquat
ndoo } which we shall eat)

Ndiro } igo randiruma (It is the wasp which stung me)
ndoo }

cp. Igo randiruma (It is a wasp which stung me)

Ndiye munhu wanezuro (It is the man of yesterday).

Ndihwo } hwahwa hwamukoreza (It is the beer which made
ndoo } him stout).

Ndiwo } amai wakafirwa nomgana (It is the mother who
ndoo } has lost her child)

Qualificative pronouns in apposition:

e.g. Ndiyo) huru iye yakatiza mudanga (e.g. mombe). (It is
Ndoo) that big one which ran into the
kraal. (e.g. head-of-cattle)).

Ndihwo) ihwo caihwo (e.g. hwahwa) hwaanowanzonwa (It
Ndoo) is that genuine one (e.g. beer) which
they usually drink).

Gana vangu, ndiyo) vose vari kufunda (As for my
ndoo) children, it is all of them who
are learning).

Ndiye mume waari kuda, iye wawasiya (It is the
other one whom he is wanting, he whom
you left).

Ndoo hwaani (e.g. hwahwa) hwauri kucera? (It is whose
(e.g. beer) from which you are drawing?).

Hwahwa hwauri kunwa ndoo hunodakisa (The beer which
you are drinking is the one which
intoxicates).

Meso avo oga ndoo akandikwazisa nokundioneke cete
(Only their eyes greeted me and bade
me goodbye).

Ndoo zaakauyira (e.g. zihu) (It is what he came for
(e.g. things)).

Kutevera nyika kwakamupinza muhupofu; ndoo zaavavirira
(e.g. zihu) (Wandering about the country led
him into blindness; it is that which he was
after (e.g. things) - viz. it serves him
right).

Haafunde, ndoo zaasingaende mberi (He does not learn,
it is why he does not progress).

Anofunda, ndoo zaanofamba mberi (He learns, it is
why he progresses).

In the last two examples, the relative qualificative pronoun is functioning as an adverbial clause of reason, introduced by the relative concord of indirect relation, here functioning as a conjunctive. Being morphologically a relative qualificative pronoun, it is in apposition to the absolute pronominal stem in the copulative ndoo (or ndizo)

III. Copulatives formed from qualificative pronouns

(other than adjectival).

Copulatives are formed from demonstrative, enumerative, possessive and relative qualificative pronouns by the addition to the pronoun of the copulative formatives nda- (before qualificative pronouns referring to nouns which have a as the vowel of the prefix),

nde- (before qualificative pronouns referring to nouns which have i as the vowel of the prefix),
 and ¹ndo- (before qualificative pronouns referring to nouns which have u as the vowel of the prefix).

In Ma., however, the prefixal formative nge- is used in all the above cases, while in Ze., due to the influence of Ma., the formative nde- is being increasingly used as the copulative formative, regardless of the character of the vowel in the prefixal formatives of the qualificative pronouns.

861.

Examples of copulatives formed from qualificative pronouns

- from demonstratives:

e.g. ndouyu (it is this one)	cp. uyu (this one) (1)	1st. position
ndouyo (it is that one)	uyo (that one) (1)	2nd. position
ndouno (it is this one here)	uno (this one (1) here)	1st. precised position
ndouye (it is that one there)	uye (that one (1) there)	2nd. precised position.

Ma. forms are: ngeuyu, ngeuyo, ngeuno, ngeuya.

ndeici (it is this one)	cp. ici (this one) (7)	1st. position
ndeico (it is that one)	ico (that one) (7)	2nd. position.
ndecino (it is this one here)	cino (this one (7) here)	1st. precised position.
ndeciye (it is that one there)	ciye (that one (7) there)	2nd. precised position.

Ma. forms are: ngeici, ngeico, ngecino, ngeciya.

ndaaya (it is these ones)	cp. aya (these ones) (6)	1st. posn.
ndaayo (it is those ones)	ayo (those ones) (6)	2nd. posn.
ndaano (it is these ones here)	ano (these ones (6) here)	1st. pre-cised Pos
ndaaye (it is those ones there)	aye (those ones (6) there)	2nd. pre-cised pos

Ma. forms are: ngeaya, ngeayo, ngeano, ngeaya.

The demonstratives which incorporate the absolute pronoun prefix ndi- with high tone, the initial i- being elided.

e.g. ndiyeyu (it is this same one)	cp. iyeyu (this same one) (1)
ndiyeo (it is that same one)	iyeyo (that same one) (1)

1. The tone of the copulative formative used with demonstrative, enumerative and direct relative pronominal stems appears to be low; but that of the copulative formative used with possessives and indirect relatives is high).

Examples of copulatives formed from demonstrative
qualificative pronouns:

"Ndiani akapunza mabvembe mumunda medu?" "Ndouye
akapfuura napamusha pedu" ("Who is it who smashed
the melons in our field?" "It is that one who passed
through our village").

Ndouno musha wandatunga (This is the village where I
was sent).

Rurimi rwindinoziwa ndourwu (The tongue I know is this one)

Nyika yandaigara ndeiyi (The land where I used to live
is this one).

862.

- from enumeratives:

Copulatives are formed from enumeratives either by the
use of the formatives ndia, nde-, and ndio-, or by means of
raising the tone on the enumerative concord.

a) Copulatives with prefixal formative:

e.g. - The stem -mpe (other).

Ndomumpe waari kushevedza (e.g. munhu) (It is another
one whom he is calling (e.g. person)).

Ndamampe andiri kutsaga (e.g. mazhanje) (It is other
ones which I am seeking (e.g. wild
loquats)).

Ndeimpe yandapiwa (e.g. hari) (It is another one which
I was given (e.g. pot)).

-The stem -pi? (which?)

Ndoupipi mpana? (Which one is the child?)

Nderipipi rauri kuda? (e.g. sanga) (Which one is it
that you want? (e.g. knife)).

Ndaapipi mapfeni akudyira? (Which ones are the
baboons which ate you out?)

-The stem -yi? (what?)

Ndeciyiko nayi? (What is the matter?)

Ma. forms are: ngeumpe, ngerimpe, ngeampe etc.

b) Copulatives formed by raising the tone on the prefixal
formative:

e.g. -The stem -mpe (one).

Mumpe cete wandiri kuda (e.g. munhu) (It is only
one whom I am wanting (e.g. person)).

-The stem -mpe (other)

Mumpe waari kushevedza (e.g. munhu) (It is another
one whom he calling (e.g. person)).

- The stem -pi?(which?)

"Ndicaakwirira mapfeni" "Āpi aucakwirira?" (I shall climb up to the baboons" "Which are the ones which you will climb up to?")

- The stem -xi?(What? what sort of?)

Āiyiko? (What is it?)

Muyiko wauri kutauro? (What sort of one are you talking of?)

863.

- from possessives:

e.g. Munda ndowangu (The field, it is mine)

Munda ndowomurume wangu (The field, it is my husband's)

Nzungu ndedzangu (The ground-nuts are mine)

Kampana ako ndakako here? (Is that small child yours?)

Ndezeyiko zokudya? (Of what sort is the food?)

Ma. forms are: ngewangu, ngedzangu, ngekako etc.

Dgezenyiko zokudya? (Of what sort is the food?)

864.

- from direct relative stems:

e.g. Mucero uyu ndounondigutisa (This fruit is one which makes me full).

Hwahwa hwauro kunwa ndohunodakisa (The beer which you are drinking is one which intoxicates).

"Uanhu vanedzimba idzo vanoita basa reyiko?"

"Ndavanotsaga huni" [The people who have those houses, what sort of work do they do?"

"It is ones who seek wood- viz. They are those who seek wood")

Nyika inesimba ndeyakapfuma (The strong country is the rich one).

-from indirect relatives:

e.g. Murima umo ndomacakanga conyatsoona (In that darkness, it was in there that it could now see well).

As before, the Ma. copulative formative is gge-.

e.g. Dgeyakasimba (It is the one which is strong)

IV. Copulative formed from adverbials.

The adverbials from which copulatives are formed are almost all, with the exception of the adverbials formed with the formative ka-, morphologically, substantives. These substantives, when used as copulative stems, follow the rules which hold for the different types of noun or pronoun to which they belong. Adverbials with formative ka-, as in much of the rest of their behaviour, here also follow the example set by nouns and form copulatives by raising the tone on the formative ka-.

----Copulatives formed from substantives which function as adverbials of time:

e. g. Adverbials which are morphologically nouns of class 1a:

Ndinhasi wazaitika (It is today that it happened).

Ndinaka uno wazakaitika (It is this year that it happened).

Ndihwedza watakanzi: "Munouya" (It is yesterday when we were told: "You will come").

cp. nhasi (today) (1a)
naka (this year) (1a)
hwedza (yesterday) (1a)

The following adverbials are also treated as nouns of class 1a and prefix formative ndi-:

viz. rini? (when?) Ndirini wazaitika? (When is it that this happened?)

zino (now) Ndzino uno here wazataurwa? (Is it now that this was spoken?)

makeyi (the coming years
the past years)

Ndimakeyi waakauya kuno (It is in the last years that he came here).

The adverbial makeyi is also turned into a copulative by raising the tone on the prefix ma-.

viz. Makeyi atakanzi: "Munozouya kuOffice" (It is last year that we were told to come to the Office).

Adverbials which are morphologically nouns of classes 5, 9, 10:

e.g. Isiku nesikati (It is day and night)
Izhizha (It is the wet season).

1. Cf. par. 213.

2. Cf. par. 126

Inhambge yakadiyi kubvira nguva yawamuona (It is what sort of time since you saw him).

cp. masikati (midday) (6)
zhizha (wet season) (5)
nhambge (spell) (9)

Adverbials which are morphologically nouns of classes other than 1a, 5, 9 or 10:

Cādo (It is the cold season) cp. cando (cold, cold season) (7)

Cīrime (It is the hoeing season) cirimo (hoeing season) (7)

Adverbials of place:

e.g. Pādyo (It is near) cp. padyo (near)

Kūre kwazo (It is very far) kure (far)

Mūtome mauri kufamba (It is out of the right way that you are going)
cp. mutome (astray)

Adverbials of manner:

e.g. Cīkadzi kusungu kudayi (It is woman's fashion to tie like this).
cp. cikadzi (in woman's fashion).

866.

The adverbial formative ka- of degree behaves like a noun prefix for purposes of forming copulatives, it being accompanied by high tone.

e.g. Kāshanu (It is five times) cp. kashanu (five times)

Kāre-kare kandakamuona (It is long ago that I saw him)
cp. kare-kafe (long ago)

The adverbial ordinals formed by prefixing the possessive concord of the adverbials in ka- to the ordinary numbers, prefix the normal prefixal copulative formative nde-.

e.g. Nhasi ndekecipiri ndicikuudzayi kudaro (Today is the second time that I am instructing you like this).
cp. kecipiri (the second time)
cipiri (second)

867.

There is only one example of a copulative being formed from an adverbial with formative sa- (like). This is the case of seyi? (like what?) which may be used in a copulative sense and followed by a participial.

e.g. Seyi ini ndicinzi "Tera"? (Why am I told to pay tax? lit. It is why...)

Seyiko acifunga kudaro? (Why is it that he thinks like that?)

Seyi vasina kubva vapinda vacimuraya? (Why is it that they did not forthwith enter and kill him?)

868.

The conjunctive saka seems also to be used in a copulative sense meaning 'This is the reason why'. It is also followed by a participial.

e.g. Saka mucinzi 'Makaipa' nokuti munoba (This is the reason why you are called evil people because you steal).

Saka tisingambogona kufamba (This is the reason why we cannot travel).

Adverbials with the conjunctive formative na- (with) are stems for personal copulatives.

869.

B. The negative - impersonal copulative.

In Ze. and Ka. there is no negative impersonal copulative construction. The negative forms corresponding to the above positive copulative forms are always personal. They employ the copulative verb -ri and subject concords agreeing in person, number and class with the complement of -ri.

e.g. Haisiri shumba (It is not a lion).

Forms like haisi shumba (Ze.) and haizi shumba (Ka) are contractions of longer forms in which the verb -ri¹ appears.

870.

In Ma., however, there exists a negative impersonal copulative construction employing the copulative formative ndi-, to which is prefixed a negative formative, either ha- or sa-. This combination, viz. handi- or sandi- is used, unchanged before every type of copulative stem in Ma. The copulative stems themselves suffer no change when taken into the negative impersonal copulative save that the initial² vowel of absolute pronouns may be elided.

1. Cf. par. 728 for the treatment of the verb -ri.

2. Barnes in O'Neill, pp. 103, 104 gives examples of absolute pronouns with elided initial vowel, e.g. handiyo (it is not it (the goat)) and with unelided initial vowel, e.g. handi isu (It is not we).

e.g. handisaša (it is not father)	cp. saša (father) (1a)
handingowani yako (it is not your hat)	ogowani (hat) (9)
handimukadzi (it is not a woman)	mukadzi (woman) (1)
handini-sa (it is not I)	ini (I) 1st.person singular
handizimpezo (it isn't the same)	zimpezo (same ones) enumerative + en- clitic demonstra- tive (8)
handiyangu (it isn't mine)	yangu (mine) posses- sive (9)

The negative formative sa- is alternative to the forma-
tive ha- in all the above examples.

The positive impersonal copulative alone is used as
complement after the deficient verbs -pa (become) and -nge
(seem). Cf. parr. 841-845.

871.

Personal copulatives

The positive indicative present simple:

Copulatives of the above type are formed from conjunctive
adverbials by prefixing basic subject concords agreeing with
the subject of the construction.

- e.g. Ndinašaša (I am with a father; I have a father).
Ndinehope (I am with eyelids; I am sleepy)
Ndinomusoro (I am with a head; I have a headache).
Ndinawana (I have children).

Conjunctive adverbials with a 3rd. person absolute pronominal
stem appear as copulative stems without the initial vowel of
the absolute pronoun.

- e.g. Ndinaye (I have him) cp. naye) (with him, (1))
naiye)
Ndinazo (I have them) nazo) (with them (8))
naizo)

Other examples with conjunctive adverbials with qualifi-
cative pronominal stems:

- Ndinouyi (I have this one)
Ndinerimpe (I have another one)
Ndinawose (I have them all)
Ndinecaggu (I have mine)
Ndineyakasimba (I have a strong one)

The progressive implication:

This is constructed by infixing the formative -ci- between the subject concord and the conjunctive adverbial.

e.g. Ndicinaṣaṣa (I still have a father).

Ndicinomusoro (I still have a headache).

872.

The negative indicative present simple:

The negative is formed by prefixing the negative formative ha-. In Ze., the vowel of the conjunctive formative, which, in the positive, coalesces with the latent initial vowel or the inherent vowel of the adverbial stem, reverts to a. In Ka., the vowel appears to coalesce with the latent vowel of the stem as in the positive, while in Ma., the vowel remains¹ what it is in the positive, namely e.

e.g. Ze. Handinaṣaṣa (I have no father)

Handinamurume (I have no husband).

Handinanyundo (I have no hammer)

Ka. Handinaṣambo (I have no father)

Handinomurume (I have no husband)

Handinenyundo (I have no hammer)

Ma. Handinaṣaṣa (I have no father)

Handinemurume (I have no husband)

Handinenyundo (I have no hammer)

Hadzinemaoko (They have no hands)

It is usual, in all dialect-groups, for the vowel of the conjunctive formative to be a when the adverbial stem is a relative qualificative pronoun.

e.g. Handina-candinaco (I haven't got anything)

Hapana-kwadzingaende (There is no place where they can go)

-
1. Except before stems which are class 1a nouns.
e.g. Ndinamayi (I have a mother); Handinamayi (I have no mother).
One certainly does hear examples like: Handinembudzi (I haven't a goat) in Ze. Cf. O'Neil, p.141. I think the explanation of this is Ma. influence.

The adverbial stem is sometimes omitted from these negative copulatives when the context is clear.

e.g. "Unedoro here?" "Kwete, handina" (Have you beer? "No, I have not")

"Panemvura here?" "Kwete, hapana" ("Is there water here?" "No, there is not")

The progressive implication.

The negative progressive implication is formed by prefixing negative formative ha- to the positive form.

e.g. ~~Handic~~cinamusoro (I have no longer a headache).

The negative infix -si- may be inserted, in which case the progressive implication may be assimilated to -si-.

e.g. (Handicisina-musoro (I have no longer a headache)
(Handisisina~~s~~musoro

873.

The participial personal copulative.

In the positive participial, an infixal formative -i- is often used. This is not present in the negative, in which the negative infix -si- is used.

Examples of the participials:

Positive

Ndanga ndiinaco (I was with it; I had it)

Kana uinaco..(If you have it..)

Ndamuona acifamba ainegumbo (I saw him walking with a sore leg).

Negative.

Ndanga ndisinaco (I did not have it)..

Kana usinaco..(If you have not got it..)

Ndamuona acifamba asinagumbo (I saw him walking without a sore leg).

The subject concord of the 3rd. person, class 1, participial is a- in all dialect groups.

The participial progressive, positive and negative, are as follows:

e.g. ndicinaco (I being still with it)

ndicisinaco } (I being no longer with it)
ndisisinaco }

Mbudzi ndokuwira mutsime pasisina-acinehanya nayo
(The goat fell into the pool, there being no longer any one still with pity for it).

874.

The relative personal copulative:

The positive relative of direct relation is based upon the positive indicative but the subject concords are, as usual in this mood, low in tone.

e.g. Munhu an^oamqana wake haamunyime cokudya (A person who has his own child does not stint him food).

Munhu unomqana wake (A person who has his child) Ka.Ma.

The positive relative of indirect relation as well as the negative relative, both of direct and indirect relation, is based upon the participial forms.

e.g. Munhu asina-mqana wake (A person who has not his own child).

Cokudya candinaco (The food which I have)

Cokudya candisinaco (The food which I have not).

875.

In the subjunctive and potential moods, the verb -va (become), followed by the mere conjunctive formative, is used to convey the idea of possession.

e.g. Ndingawe nembga (I can have a dog).

Handingawe nesimba (I cannot be strong).

Ko, ndingasawe nehasha sey? (Tell me, how could I not be angry?)

(kuti) ndiwe nehasha ((that) I be angry)

(kuti) ndisawe nehasha ((that) I be not angry)

876.

In the past and future tenses of the indicative, copulative verbs are used. In the past, the verb -nge (be) is used with the present participial complement of the personal copulative. In the future, the verb -va (become) is used with the mere conjunctive adverbial.

e.g. Nlakanga ndiinesimba (I was strong)

Ndicava nesimba (I shall be strong)

877.

Relative qualificative pronouns based upon the personal copulative are widely used. Those formed with relative concord of class 2 and conjunctive adverbial incorporating a class 1a noun, supply a plural form for class 1a nouns.

e.g. Uana^oba^oba nava^onaama^o (Fathers and mothers; lit. Ones who are with father and ones who are with mother).

When the class 1a noun forming the stem of such conjunctive adverbials is a personified noun, the subject concord of such relative qualificative pronouns is of the plural class linked to that from which the personified noun originally came.

e.g. DzinaMbga (Dog and companions) (10) cp. imbga (dog) (9)
Alternatively this subject concord may be of another class, in which case its connotations are those of that class when used in secondary function.

e.g. TwunaMbira (Dassie and his little companions) (12)
cp. mbira (dassie) (9)

878.

Relative qualificative pronouns with locative class subject concords are the normal means of constructing adverbials of place which refer to class 1a nouns and pronouns.

e.g. panašaba (at father)
kunašaba (to father)
munašaba (in father)

paneni (at me)
kuneni (to me)
muneni (in me)

munezose (in all)

These relative qualificative pronouns all function as adverbials of place. Of these relatives, those with subject concord of class 16 (less often those with subject concord of class 17)¹ function also as adverbials of comparison.

e.g. Ini ndinesimba panewe (I am stronger than you; lit. I have strength by you)

Panavarume kwakauyawo vakadzi (Besides men, there came also women).

879.

Besides the conjunctive adverbials, the enclitic forms of the demonstrative qualificative pronouns of classes 16, 17 and 18, second position, are used as copulative stems in the negative indicative, simple and progressive.

e.g. Haapo (He is not there)
Havako (They are not there)
Haamo (He is not in there)

Handicipo (I am no longer there)²

1. Cf. O'Neill, p.96. Marconnès, par. 397.

2. Cf. Marconnès, par. 251.

The locative demonstrative copulatives:

Special copulatives with locative reference are formed from the basic demonstrative qualificative pronouns of all classes, by means of prefixing the formative ha-. The vowel of this formative coalesces with the initial vowel of the demonstratives of the positions, and is assimilated to the initial vowel, or the latent initial vowel, of the demonstratives of the precised positions, according as these are vowel or consonant-commencing.

1

The forms:

	<u>1st. posn.</u>	<u>2nd. posn.</u>	<u>1st. precised posn.</u>	<u>2nd. precised posn.</u>
Class 1:	hoyu (here ² this is)	hoyo (there that is)	houno (here this here is)	houye (there that there is)
2:	haya (here these are)	hayo (there those are)	haano (here these here are)	haaye (there those there are)
3:	hoyu	hoyo	houno	houye
4:	heyi	heyo	heino	heiye
5:	heri	hero	herino	heriye
6:	haya	hayo	haano	haaye
7:	heci	heco	hecino	heciye
8:	hezi	hezo	hezino	heziye
9:	heyi	heyo	heino	heiye
10:	hedzi	hedzo	hedzino	hedziye
11:	horwu	horwo	horwuno	horwuye
13:	haka	hako	hakano	hakaye
12:	hotwu	hotwo	hotwuno	hotwuye
14:	hohwu	hohwo	hohwuno	hohwuye
15:	hoku	hoko	hokuno	hokuye
16:	hapa	hapo	hapano	hapaye
17:	hoku	hoko	hokuno	hokuye
18:	homu	homo	homuno	homuye
19:	hesi	heso	hesino	hesiye

The forms for class 14 in Ka. are: hobgu, hobgo, hobguno and hobguya. The forms for the 2nd. precised position in Ka. and Ma. end in -a.

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 213. Translations appended to the forms for classes 1 and 2 are valid, mutatis mutandis, for the other classes.

2. Cp. the non-locative copulative with the same stem: ndouyu (it is this one).

881.

These forms refer to the same positions in space as do the basic demonstratives themselves save that those of the 2nd. precised position are not out of sight.

Examples:

Heci ciḡawe cako (Here this is, your mealie)

Hakaye kamḡana kaye (There that one there is, that little child there (we saw before)).

Akawana, a! hoko kukura (He found, ah! there that is, a growth; viz. that's a growth there for you)

Hate horwo rukowa, nzara ikati ndaḡaya vashemi! (As for saliva, there's a river for you, and hunger then gnawed, O Lord!)

Akaḡikopiwa cokudya cakanaka kwazo akacikora heyo ngurube (He was given there very good food and he then got fat as a pig; lit. there's a pig for you).

882.

These copulatives are frequently used after the verbs -ti and its passive, -nzi, the meanings of these combinations being respectively 'give' and 'be given'.

e.g. Ruḡatsiro rugganzi horwo kumunhu (Help can be given to a person; lit. can be said there that is to a person).

Akanzi hoyo mḡana (She was given her child).

Nheḡgwana kana tsaga neziyo zinonzi munhu hezi (A basket or sack with grain are given to a person).

Nḡakati hoyu mḡana (I said here this is, (your) child; I gave her her child).

CHAPTER XI

THE ADVERBIAL

883.

Definition: The adverbial is a word which describes a predicate in respect of time, place or manner, and which describes a qualificative, or another adverbial, in respect of manner.

In this part of speech are included both primitive adverbials, called adverbs, and derived adverbials. Derived adverbials include both substantives in secondary, adverbial function, and compound adverbials consisting of a formative and a stem. Adverbials may be treated according to the following scheme:

- I The adverbs of time, place and manner;
- II Substantives functioning as adverbials of time, place and manner;
- III Adverbials formed by means of adverbial formatives + stem:
 - A) formative na- of agency + substantival stem;
 - B) formative na- of instrumentality + substantival stem;
 - C) formative na- of conjunction + substantival stem;
 - D) formative sa- of likeness + substantival stem;
 - E) formative ka- of degree + adjectival and enumerative stems.

884.

I. The adverbs.

The adverbs are primitive adverbials which have not been derived from other parts of speech. They are extremely rare in Shona, by far the greater number of adverbials being derived. The following list includes all that the writer has encountered.

a) adverbs of time

e.g. rini? (when?)

1. Cf. Marconnès, par. 399-403; O'Neill, p. 134-139; Louw, p. 34

Nazuwa ano ndaɓe nani zangu (These days I have become better)

Ziri nani ukandipa mbudzi, ndingati zaenzana (It is better if you give me a goat, I would consider it was equal).

Muroewo! (Beat him also!)

Mdinouyawo (I shall come too).

Itayize! (Do (it) again!)

885.

II. Substantives functioning as adverbials.

One of the most important secondary functions of the substantive is the adverbial. This is discharged by substantives of all types, both nominal and pronominal, and without change of form. When such substantives are qualified, the adverbial function is taken up by ^{substantive} ~~qualificative~~ and qualificative.

a) Substantives functioning as adverbials of time.

1/ Nouns as adverbials of time.

1) Nouns of classes 16 and 18.

e.g. pakuona (at the seeing)¹
pakutambudzika (at a time of trouble)
mukuona (in the seeing)

pazhizha (at the rainy season)
mucanio (in the winter)

2) Nouns of class 6²

e.g. mashamba-nzou (before dawn - lit. the washing of the elephants)

3) Nouns of class 11³

e.g. rukunzi-kunzi (dusk)

4) Many nouns of various classes, often qualified.

e.g. nguoyi? (at what time?)
muwero wezuwa (for the duration of the day)
rimge zuwa (one day)
husiku (at night)

Cingo candakazarwa (Ever since I was born)

1. Cf. Nguni: ekuɓoneni (at the seeing)

2. Cf. par. 143.

3. Cf. par. 177.

886.

11/ Pronouns as adverbials of time.

1) Possessive qualificative pronouns of classes 16 and 17.

Possessive qualificative pronouns of class 17 indicate duration.

e.g. kwenguva huru (for a long time)

kwamazusa (for days)

Possessive qualificative pronouns of class 16 are often found with an infinitive possessive stem.

e.g. pokupedza (at the one of the end)

pokutanga (at the one of the beginning)

2) Relative qualificative pronouns of indirect relation of classes 8 and 16 function as adverbials of time.¹

e.g. pandakumuona (when I saw him)

zandakauya (when I came)

zandinodzoka (when I return)

887.

b) Substantives functioning as adverbials of place.

1) Nouns as adverbials of place.

1) The nouns of classes 16, 17 and 18 all function as adverbials of place, both those with prefixes in primary function and those with prefixes in secondary function.²

e.g. - prefixes in primary function:

padyo (near)

kure (far)

mukati (in the middle)

- prefixes in secondary function:

pazasi (underneath)

kuhuzuru (on top)

mukanwa (in the mouth)

Havana cido kubakadzi vavo (They have no love towards their wives).

When such nouns are qualified, the adverbial function is discharged by noun and qualificative.

e.g. Mumba mangu (In my house)

Kuseri kwangu (Behind me)

pamberipo (in front there)

1. Cf. Par. 598.

2. Cf. parr. 196 - 202.

The nouns padyo and kure are usually followed by a conjunctive adverbial.

e.g. padyo nomusha (near to the village)

kure nomusha (far from the village)

2) The nouns of other classes are not widely used as adverbials of place save certain nouns of class 14 and proper names of places,

e.g. Enda huRozi (Go to the Rozi country)

Ndinobva Harare (I come from Salisbury)

Noun antecedents, other than those of classes 16-18, may stand in a locative relationship to a relative predicate.

e.g. Nyika yandinogara (The country where I live)

888.

11) Pronouns as adverbials of place.

1) All the pronouns - both absolute and qualificative- of class 16, 17 and 18 function adverbially.

- the absolute pronouns:

e.g. Ipo pano ndipo paanogara (This very place is where he lives).

Anorara imomo (He sleeps in that same place)

- the qualificative pronouns:

e.g. adjectival: panyoro (at a soft place)
pakukutu (at a hard place)
pacena (openly)
kukobvu (at the thick part)
paviri (at two places)

demonstrative - both non-enclitic and enclitic:

apo (there^{at})
uko (over there)
umo (in there)

Akararapo (He slept there)
Akafambako (He travelled thither)
Akasevenzamo (He worked in there).

enumerative:

pampe (elsewhere)
papi? (at which?)
payi? (at what?)

kumpe kwese neuko (everywhere - lit. every elsewhere and over there)

1. Cf. par. 189.

2. Cf. par. 380.

3. For the forms of all these pronouns cf. parr. 251 (Absolute), 310 (demonstrative), 323 (enumerative), 331 (quantitative), 338 (possessive). For some mention of the adverbial function, cf. parr. 271 (demonstrative), 279 (quantitative) and 282 (possessive).

quantitative pose (at everywhere)
kwose (in all directions)

asina kutirimuka kwese rufu (not at all
afraid of death)

possessive paSadza (at Sadza's)
kwaSadza (in Sadza's neighbourhood)
makaremo (in the same place)

relative of direct relation:

pazere wanhū (at a place full of people)
pakawanda (at a hidden place)
pakanaka (at a pleasant place)
pakatunhumara (at an elevated place)

panemvura (at a place with water)
paneziō (at a place with corn)

The latter construction, viz. the personal copulative relative with subject concords of classes 16-18, is used when it is desired to make a locative adverbial referring to a class 1a or 2a noun or a pronoun, or a qualificative. A conjunctive adverbial with class 1a or 2a noun stem or pronominal stem is thus the copulative stem in the relative with class 16-8 subject concord.¹

e.g. panaṣaṣa (at father, lit. where with father)
panaye (at him, lit. where with him)
paneni (at me)
panaiwoyo (muteuro) (at that same one (sacrifice))
panomumge (shamgari) (at another one (friend))
kunamanomge (out of seven)
munal945 (in 1945)
kunavari mumba (to those who are in the house)
kunezakaipa (towards bad ones, with a bad purpose)

Such relatives with subject concord of class 16 sometimes indicate comparison, in which case the stem of the conjunctive adverbial is not necessarily a class 1a or 2a noun or pronoun.

panavadzimai (beside women, out of women)

Nzou ihuru panemvuu (An elephant is big beside a hippo,
is bigger than a hippo).

panavaidziidziiswa (out of those who were taught)
Wakapinda kulpa panebveni (You are more evil than
a baboon)

relative of indirect relation:

panlinogara (where I live)
kwaari (where he is)
maari (in where he is)

Fambirapo paenzi (Walk there where he was
told (to go))

1. Cf. par. 878.

889.

c) Substantives functioning as adverbials of manner:

1) Nouns as adverbials of manner.

1) The infinitive is often used with adverbial function.¹

e.g. kudaro (like that)
kudayi (like this)
kudiyi? (like what?)

Aisevenza kudaro (He used to work like that).

Izi zasaka kuti bakadzi balpe kunyanya (These things have caused the women to be exceedingly wicked).

The infinitives kupinda (to enter, pass) and kupfuura (to pass by) with an object, are used in comparative phrases.

e.g. kupinda bakadzi (to pass women, more than women)

kupfuura zakare (to pass by the things of old, more than the ones of old)

2) Nouns of all classes are used in a descriptive capacity.²

e.g. Wakafatwa gumbo (He was seized by the leg).

kurwara meso (to be sick in the eyes)

Tsime yakapxa mvura (The well dried up as regards water)

Imba yazara hutsi (The house is full of smoke).

Ndaguta hwahwa (I am replete with beer).

Zita rako ndiwani? (Who are you as regards your name?)

Nzou, ndiko kwadzinowanda samare (As for the elephants, that is where they are very numerous)

Imba yakapamama honokono gumi (The house is ten ells broad).

Wakarenga ngoro iyi mapondo mangani? (For how many pounds did you buy this waggon?)

3) Nouns of classes 7 and 8 function as adverbials of manner, one of the meanings of these prefixes in secondary function being 'fashion' or 'manner'.³

e.g. cikadzi (in woman fashion)
cinyararire (quietly)

1. Cf. par. 579.

2. Cf. Marconnés, parr. 453-459, 462-3, 467-8 for numerous examples of substantives with adverbial function.

3. Cf. par. 150.

11) Pronouns as adverbials of manner.

1) Qualificative pronouns of classes 7 and 8, but chiefly 8, function as adverbials of manner.

e.g. zikuru (greatly)
 zishoma (a little)
 cinyoro (softly)
 cimishi (raw)
 zishinji (much)

zimne (perhaps)

cose (entirely)
 coga (differantly)

zangu (in my fashion)¹

Sarayi zenyu (Stay as regards yourselves, in your fashion; viz. good-bye).

Akarowa zokuwira pasi (He was struck in such a way as to fall down).

zokwadi (truly)

zakadayi (in this way)
 zakadaro (in that way)
 zakasimba (strongly)
 zizere (truly)
 zaisekererwa (pleasingly)
 zisirizo (untruly, falsely)
 zisina kururama (in a wrong way, in a crooked way)

zinonzi: 'Uyayi, muone' (in a way which was expressed: "Come and see" - in a way which invited inspection).

zinogutsa moyo (in a way which satisfies the heart)

zinotora moyo (in a way which steals the heart, movingly)

nokunzwana caizo zigowe zomukombe neojirongo (and with real mutual understanding which is after the fashion of the ladle and the water-pot).

Relative clauses of indirect relation with the concord² of class 8 function as adverbials of reason:

e.g. zassingafunde (because he does not learn)

2) Adjectival qualificative pronouns indicating numbers, and the enumerative qualificative pronouns with stem -mne (one), when reduplicated, function as distributive adverbials.

e.g. mbiri mbiri (two by two)
 munge munge (one by one) Ka.Ma.
 munge cete munge cete (one by one)

Fambayi vana vana (Walk four by four)

1. Ma. forms of these possessive are hangu (in my fashion), hedu (in our fashion) etc.

2. Cf. par. 698.

891.

Some nouns and pronouns of classes 16, 17 and 18 function with metaphorical non-locative meaning as adverbials of manner.

e.g. the nouns: pamusana, panzimbo with possessive qualificative.
pamusana pokudaro (on account of doing that)
panzimbo pokudaro (instead of doing that)

the adjectival qualificative pronouns:

patša (anew)
kutša (anew)

the relative copulatives:

panavakadzi (compared with women)
paneyose (compared with all) etc.

the possessives:

pangupa (in my condition here)
pakopa (in your condition here)

892.

III. Adverbials formed by means of adverbial formatives + stems.

The formatives in use are:

- A) formative na- of agency in Ze. and Ka. As a formative of agency, Ma. uses either the impersonal copulative formative ndi- (with nouns of classes 1a and 2a and with absolute pronouns) or the formative nge- (with other substantival stems):
- B) formative na- of instrumentality in Ze. and Ka. As a formative of instrumentality, Ma. uses formative nge-;
- C) formative na- of conjunction or association;
- D) formative sa- of likeness;
- E) formative ka- of degree.

The first four formatives are used with substantival stems of all kinds, the fifth with adjectival and enumerative stems.

893.

The vowel a of the formatives na- and sa- is subject to the phonological changes outlined in parr. 50 (2), and 57 (viii). Thus:

1) there is coalescence between a and the latent initial vowel of nouns,

e.g. nenzira (by means of a path) cp. na- + (i) nzira
nomjana (with a child) na- + (u) mjana

ii) there is coalescence between a and the initial vowels of absolute pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons, singular and plural,

e.g. neni (with me) cp. na- + ini,

but the initial vowel of the absolute pronouns of the 3rd. person is either elided or remains juxtaposed with a in the adverbial,

e.g. saye cp. iye (he)
 saiye (like him)

iii) there is coalescence between a and the inherent vowel of the prefixal formatives of qualificative pronouns, commencing with a consonant,

e.g. nehuru (with a big one) cp. na- + (1) huru
 nedzino (with these) na- + (1) dzino;

iv) there is assimilation of a to the initial vowel of qualificative pronouns beginning with a vowel,

e.g. neici (with this one) cp. na- + ici
 neimpe (with another one) na- + impe
 neinouya (with one which na- + inouya
 comes)

In Ma., the vowel a in the formatives na- of conjunction and sa- of likeness is uniformly e, save when used with class 1a and 2a nouns and the absolute pronouns of the 3rd. person.¹

e.g. nemgana (with the child)
 semgana (like a child)

894.

A) The formatives of agency.

The formative for adverbials of agency is na- in Ze. and Ka.

e.g. naṣaṣa (by father)	cp. ṣaṣa (father) (1a)
naeni? (by whom?)	ani? (who?) (1a)
nehama (by a relative)	hama (relative) (9)
nomgana (by a child)	mgana (child) (1)
navose (by all)	vose (all) (2)
navampe (by others)	vampe (others) (2)
neimpe (by another)	impe (another) (9)

But in Ze., the vowel e is tending to replace vowels a and o with agentive adverbial stems which are not class 1a or 2a nouns or absolute pronouns of the 3rd. person, no matter

1. Cf. par. 67, substitution.

what is the character of the latent initial or inherent vowel.

In Ma., the impersonal copulative functions as an agentive adverbial when agents are nouns of classes 1a and 2a or absolute pronouns.

e.g. Waudzwa ndiani? (By whom were you told?)

Ndaudzwa ndibafa (I was told by father).

Wakaudzwa ndini (He was told by me).

With other adverbial stems, the agentive formative is nge-.

e.g. Iyi tsamba yakanyorwa ngehama yangu (This letter was written by my relative).

Imbga yakanerwa ngemukomana (The dog was beaten by the boy).

Vanokudzwa ngevese (They are praised by all).

895.

B) The formatives of instrumentality.

In Ze. and Ka. the formative is ne- with varying vowel. In Ma.¹ it is uniformly nge-, there being, seemingly, no instrumental adverbials with stems consisting of nouns of classes 1a or 2a or of absolute pronouns.

e.g. Ze. Ka. : Famba nokucimbizika (Walk with quickness, walk quickly)

Tanonoka nemvura yana (We delayed by reason of the rain which fell).

Ndarowa neshamu (I was beaten by a cane).

Klafa nenzara (I am dead with hunger)

Rega kufamba nenzira iyi! (Don't walk by this path!)

Kainomoyo mutema naSaba wandiroa (I have a sore heart by reason of father who beat me).

cp. Na. ngekucimbizika (with speed)

ngemvura (by the rain)

ngeshamu (with a cane)

ngenzara (with hunger)

ngenzira (by the path)

ngeSondo (on Sunday)

ngemajana (by turns)

1. This formative functions as an impersonal copulative formative in Ma. with certain types of qualificative pronoun. Cf. par.860. With nouns and adjectival pronouns, as well as with quantitative qualificative pronouns, the function of this formative seems purely adverbial.

Other examples of instrumental adverbials:

- with locative nouns and pronouns:-

e.g. nomumunda (by the interior of the field, through the field)

napano (by this way)

nokokoko (by that way there)

- after verbs of thinking, considering, speaking etc:-

e.g. -taura nezompana (Speak about the affairs of the child)

-taura nezedzimba (speak about the housing question)

Unofungeyi naaya mazwi? (What do you think about these words?)

Canozisa nokugara kwomuniri (They know about the state of the body).

..rikafunga necingabatsire nyika (..and it thought about what could aid the country)

Matara avanhu anenge acida kuona Hurumende
nozinonetsa vatema vanotopota vacipotera
kwaari (The people's councils which are
wanting to see the Government about what irks
the Africans will have to keep applying to it).

896.

c) The formative of conjunction.

The formative of conjunction in all dialect-groups is na- with varying vowel.

e.g. Enda našaša! (Go with father!)

Wakadzoka naye (He returned with him).

nehanzadzi yangu (with my sister)

nompana (with the child) Ze. Ka.

nempana (with the child) Ma.

nevanhu (with the people) Ze. Ka.

nemvanhu (with the people) Ma.

Uya nemvura.' (Come with water! Bring water!)

Waenda nemari yangu (He went with my money; He took
my money)

¹
Ndaiva nembga (I used to have a dog).

Ndicava nembga (I shall have a dog).

897.

Formative na- appears to function as a conjunctive²
when joining words of similar type.

e.g. when joining substantives:

Sadza naGutu (Sadza and Gutu)

ini nomukadzi wangu (my wife and I)

Sere nehava (the hyena and the jackal)

ani naani (who and who; viz. whoever)

mumge nomumge (one and one; viz. each one)

ipi neipi (which one and which one; viz. whichever)

ciyi neciyi (what one and what one; viz. whatever)

vanofara navasingafare (those who rejoice and those
who do not rejoice).

when joining adverbs:

rini narini (when and when; viz. for ever)

kagumi nakatatu (ten times and thrice; viz. thirteen
times)

1. Cf. parr. 875, 876.

2. Cf. par. 931.

898.

Conjunctive adverbials are used as the stems of
personal copulatives.¹

e.g. ndinenzara (I am with hunger, I am hungry) cp.nenzara (with hunger)

ndinomosoro (I have a (sore) head) nomosoro (with a head)

1. Cf. par. 871 Seq.

899. D) The formative sa- of likeness.

This formative is found, with varying vowel, in all dialect-groups.

e.g. saŋaŋa (like father)	cp. ŋaŋa (father) (1a)
soŋŋana (like a child) Ze.Ka.	ŋŋana (child) (1)
seŋŋana (like a child) Ma.	
seŋenzi (like a fool)	ŋenzi (fool) (5)
saŋakudo (like baboons) Ze.Ka.	ŋakudo (baboons) (6)
seŋakudo (like baboons) Ma.	
seyi? (like what, how?) Ze.Ka.	(1)yi? (what?) (9)
senyi? (like what, how?) Ma.	(1)nyi? (what?) (9)
sokureŋa kwake (according to his word)	kureŋa (to speak) (15)
Ita ŋeni! (Act like me!)	ini (I)
Ita ŋaye! (Act like him!)	iye (he)

The formative sa- is frequently used with a relative qualificative pronoun of indirect relation with class 8 concord.

e.g. sezaakarayirwa (as he was ordered)
sezaakafembera (as he guessed).

900. E) The formative ka- of degree.

This formative is used with adjectival stems, with the enumerative stem -mpe (one) and with the nouns gumi (ten) and zana (hundred) to indicate number of times.

e.g. kangani? (how many times?)	cp. -ŋgani? (how many?)
kaŋpe cete (once only)	-mpe (one)
kaŋviri (twice)	-viri (two)
katatu (thrice)	-tatu (three)
kaŋgumi (ten times)	gumi (a ten) (5)
kazana (a hundred times)	zana (a hundred) (5)

Most dialects of Ka. appear to use the formative ru-¹ instead of ka-.

e.g. Wakaŋuya kaŋgana? Rutatu (How often did he come? Thrice)
cp. -ŋgana? (how many?)
rushoma (seldom) -shoma (few)

1. Cf. Louw, p. 49. Marconnès, par. 178

901.

Addition is indicated by using the conjunctive formative na- to join the two adverbials of degree.

e.g. kagumi nakatatu (thirteen times)

kazana nakazana (hundreds of times)

Multiplication is indicated by placing adverbials of degree in apposition.

e.g. kagumi kaviri (twice ten times, twenty times)

Further examples:

Ndakaona vanhu vatatu katatu (I saw three people three times)

Iwe wakaita kagumi nakatatu, ini ndakaita kagumi katatu (You did (it) thirteen times, I did (it) thirty times).

Urege kuita kanompe koga, uite kanompe kagumi kanompe (Don't do (it) seven times only, do (it) seven times seventy times).

Kampe negore (Once a year).

902.

It was pointed out in par. 213 that possessives and quantitatives are formed with prefixal formatives akin to concords derived from formative ka-.

e.g. of the quantitatives, kose qualifies adverbials of degree, while koga functions as an adverbial of manner.

nakashoma kose (even in the least)

koga (only)

Of the possessives, those with ordinal numeral stems should be noted, this being the way in which adverbial ordinals are formed.

e.g. keciposhi (firstly, for the first time)

kecipiri (secondly)

kecitatu (thirdly)

kecina (fourthly)

kecishanu (fifthly)

kecitanhatu (sixthly)

kecinompe (seventhly)

karusere (eighthly)

kepfumbampe (ninthly)

kegumi (tenthly)

cp. ciposhi (first one)¹

cipiri (second one)

citatu (third one)

cina (fourth one)

cishanu (fifth one)

citanhatu (sixth one)

cinompe (seventh one)

rusere (eight)

cipfumbampe (ninth one)

gumi (ten)

1. Cf. par. 266.

Addition and multiplication among these ordinals is indicated in the same way as among the adverbial cardinals, save that in multiplication, a cardinal is apposed to an ordinal.

e.g. kegumi necipiri (tenthly and secondly; viz. twelfly)
kegumi katatu (thirtiethly)

In Ka. the adverbial ordinals use a possessive concord deriving from ru-.

e.g. rweciposhi (firstly)
rwecipiri (secondly)

note: rworusere (eighthly)

Umouya kuno ruzhinji; mangwanano wakouya rwegumi¹ (He comes here often; this morning he came for the tenth time).

903.

The concepts conveyed by many English adverbs are rendered in Shona by various non-adverbial constructions.

e.g. - by the use of deficient verbs:

as: Wakanyatsopfaa (He is graciously kind)²
Wafumomuka (He got up early)
Wadzoka ondituka (He unexpectedly cursed me)
Wati adzoka here? (Has he returned yet?)

- by the use of derived species of the verb:

as: -manyisa (run hard) (The intensive)
-ceka-ceka (cut all (The frequentative)
over)
-pindirira (go right (The perfective)
through)

- by the use of basic verbal stems including adverbial ideas:

as: -suruka (go down)
-suda (go out)
-pinda (go in)

1. Cf. Louw, p. 49.

2. There are signs that these deficient verbs with contracted infinitive prefix are tending to be regarded as infixes with adverbial function, and that the conjugational formatives are being referred to what is morphologically the complement. e.g. in Ka. and Ma. the negative terminative appears at the end of the complement, e.g. handizouyi (I shall not come)

cp. handizouya (I

shall not come) Ze.

In the form wakanyatsopfaa, it is -pfaa which is the inchoative verb in the perfect aspect, to which the formatives waka- apply.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONJUNCTIVE

904.

Definition: The conjunctive is a word which links words, phrases, clauses or sentences.

In this part of speech are included both primitive conjunctives, called conjunctions, and derived conjunctives. Derived conjunctives consist of words of several morphological types in secondary, conjunctive function.

905.

Conjunctives may be divided according to the type of clause, phrase or word by which they are followed and which they serve to link. Thus conjunctives are divided into those followed by: A) a sentence or clause of which the predicate is

in the indicative or potential mood;

B) a clause of which the predicate is in the participial mood;

C) a clause of which the predicate is in the subjunctive mood;

D) a clause of which the predicate is an ideo-
phone with predicative function;

E) a phrase or word.

Within each of the above categories, conjunctives are divided into conjunctions, which are very few in number, and the different morphological types of conjunctive.

906.

A) Conjunctives followed by a sentence or clause of which the predicate is in the indicative or potential.

1) Conjunctions.

a) asi (but)

e.g. Kuda ndinoda, asi amai vanoda mari caiyo (As for wanting, I am willing, but mother wants real money)

Iye wakanga akanaka asi mukoma wake wakanga akaipa
(He was good but his elder brother was bad).¹

1. Cf. O'Neill, p. 144.

If the sentence preceding asi has the adverb cete in it immediately following a negative predicate, the two sentences are opposed in the sense of 'not only..but also.!

e.g. Havana kutandwa cete pacikoro asi vakarambidzwa kupinda sasa ripi neripi (Not only were they expelled from school, but they were forbidden to enter any work soever).

907.

b) nyamba (and yet)

e.g. Vamwe vanoda imbaga zhinji nyamba havagone kucengeta imbaga imge cete (Some want many dogs and yet they cannot keep one dog).

Wogomurambidza kuenda nyamba ari kutoti anokubatsirawo kutakura! (You can forbid him to go in spite of the fact that he is merely saying that he will also help you to carry!).

908.

11) Conjunctives morphologically infinitives.

a) kuwe (since; lit. to become)

e.g. Waimuda zakanyanya kuwe waive iye uno wakadururwa somutobvu (He loved him exceedingly since he was the one who was poured out like lead - viz. of a fine physique).

Kubapatiswa kwake kwakamuitisa kuwa mumwe munhu kuwa huzarirwo hwake waive wokuvimba, asinganzi tokonyo (His being baptized made him a new person since by temperament he used to be of a proud disposition, not suffering a rebuff).

b) kudaro (hence; lit. to do that)

e.g. Vakaramba vacipopotana kudaro mambo wakavatuka (They kept on quarrelling and so the chief cursed them).

909.

c) kuti (that; lit. to say etc)

This conjunctive is used to introduce direct speech. It also serves to introduce substantival clauses in which indirect speech, questions and commands are rendered.

e. g. introducing direct speech:

Kacembere kakavaudza kuti: "Regayi kuenda Menzira yokudunhu (The little old woman told them, saying: "Don't go by the hill path").

introducing indirect speech:

The reported speech is kept in the same tense in which it was spoken, no matter what the tense of the principal predicate may be.

e.g. Ndakavaudza kuti mumba mangu maiva nenyoka (I told them that there used (previously) to be snakes in my house).

Kuti introduces other types of substantival clause as well, besides those which render indirect speech.

e.g. Handiziwe kuti anouya rini (I do not know when he will come).

Izi zinatiridza kuti ngatiregeyi kuzidza zose zinoitwa navatema (These things show us that we must not despise everything which is done by the Africans).

- with copulative predicate in the subordinate clause:

Unofunga kuti musunga here? (Do you think that it is beer?)

Unombofunga kuti varume, haumbofunga kuti vakadzi (You think first that it is men, you don't think at all that it is women).

Haungaziwe kuti ndiani anoba (You cannot know who it is who steals).

Other examples:

..kufemedza kuti kunouya shumba zimne mbada (...to smell whether there comes a lion or a leopard).

Rimge zuva zakaitika kuti mumge mukomana wakafirwa navasereki wake (One day it happened that a certain boy was bereaved by his parents).

Uakashama kuti mukanzimbo kakadaro kangagare cinhu (They were astonished that, in such a little place, there could live anything).

Handiziwe kuti ndingaiteyi (I do not know what I can do).

The substantival clause together with the conjunctive kuti may function as a phrastic possessive stem in a possessive qualificative construction.

e.g. Ndakarega kuuya pamusana pokuti kwaiwe nenhimbe (I did not come on account of there being a work-party).

Nenzira yokuti nyika yakanga isingatongwe zakanaka, vanhu vose havana kumbenge vakafara (For the reason that the country was not governed well, everybody was not at all happy).

..mutemo wokuti munhu anenge aita rutadzo anotsondwa namatombo kudzimara afe (a law whereby a person, who has committed a sin, is pounded with stones until he dies).

910.

d) Kuti followed by zimne (perhaps) indicates 'because', the two together corresponding to the English 'lest' (or 'because perhaps'). In this sense, kuti zimne (lest) is followed by the potential.

e.g. Ndamutora kuti zimge haangawane anomucengeta (I took him lest he should not find one to keep him).

Ndiri kuwiga kuti zimge cingatorwe (I am hiding (it) lest it should be taken)

Ndiri kuisya pacena kuti zimge cingasatorwa (I am putting it out lest it should not be taken),

911.

iii) Conjunctive morphologically a verb stem.

viz. bva (but; lit. come from) Ka.

e.g. Kare munhu ari parwendo rwakwe wakawira kumawere; wakafa bva vanhu havazakamuona (Long ago a person on his journey fell from a cliff; he died but people did not see him).

912.

iv) Conjunctive morphologically an ideophone.

viz. uye (and; lit. of coming) Ze.
uuye(do.) Ka.

e.g. Inda undowudza Jakata kuti ndicambonwe-doro rangu. Rimge rinodirwa nhasi; rimge rinopiswa uuye rimge rinopfuwirwa; mangwana rimge rinocambga. Handigoni kurisiya riri muhari, ringavava. (Go and tell Mr. Williams that I shall first drink my beer. One (lot) is poured out today; another is cooked and another is kept (?); tomorrow another is begun. I cannot leave it in the pot, it might get sour).

Munofanira kuungana pano musi weSondo uyeze munhu oga oga anouya nokudya kwake (You must meet here on Sunday and further every person will come with his food).

913.

v) Conjunctives morphologically adverbials.

a) zino (then; lit. now)

e.g. Uakomana wakabvunzana rumbo rwokuridza; zino shumba dzakatamba (The boys asked one another a song to play; then the lions danced).

Conjunctives which are morphologically adverbials, or which, while not morphologically adverbials may function as adverbials, seem to retain this function when acting as conjunctives.

b) nokuti (because; lit. by means of saying etc.)

In Ma. this conjunctive is ngekuti.

e.g. Ndiko tsuro kakakusunga nokuti uri rema (It is the little one, here, that bound you because you are a fool).

Ndinomuda kwazo nokuti munununa wangu (I love him much because it is (viz. he is) my younger brother).

This conjunctive may introduce direct speech.

eg. Asi ndakatya zikuru kuenda nokuti: "Uanondiuraya" (But I was very afraid to go because they would kill me).

Note the Ma:

Usadzisate ngekuti ungavasiwa ndidzo (Do not touch them because you may be stung by them)

c) nezokuti (by the fact that; lit. by means of the ones of saying etc.)

e.g. Eveni rakashamiswa nezokuti Kamba akagona kukwira gomo (The baboon was astonished by the fact that Tortoise was able to climb the hill).

Ini ndakatadziwa kuuya nezokuti ndairwara (I was hindered from coming by the fact that I was ill).

d) nezo (hence; lit. with them)

e.g. Nezo usafunge cinhu cakaipa (Hence do not think an evil thing)

Asi Joseph, kuce waiigosema hunzenza, nezo haaiisatsirira zaisemba (But Joseph, because he hated immorality very much, hence used not to cooperate in the loathsome deeds).

e) naizozo (hence; lit. with the same ones)

e.g. Naizozo wakabvunza tsuro kuti amuperekedze (And so he asked hare to accompany him).

f) napo (hence; lit. with there)

e.g. Napo tinona kuti vaRungu vazhinji vanehupenyu hwaka-simba (Hence we see that many Europeans have good health)

914.

vi) Conjunctives morphologically pronouns.

a) zimpe (otherwise; lit. other ones (8))

e.g. Ndipe wo cokudya, zimpe ndingafe nenzara (Give me food, otherwise I may die of hunger).

This word functions elsewhere as an adverbial meaning 'perhaps'.

b) izozo (nevertheless; lit. those very ones).

e.g. Ningi aenda kumunda izozo aciri kurwara (So-and-so went the field, nevertheless he is still sick).

Ningi akamboti: "Ndinouya"; izozo haauye (So-and-so said: "I shall come"; nevertheless he does not come).

c) zokuti (with the result that; lit. the ones of to say (in such a way that etc.)

e.g. Imbga yakasiyiwa netsuro zokuti haina kuzomboiona
(The dog was left by the hare so that it did not come even to see it).

Wakanga akasha^gtirwa kwazo zokuti haaimbotaura nomunhu (He was so angry that he used not to speak with one).

Nyama yakanga yati sil netsina zokuti haingadyiwe (The meat was so black with dirt that it could not be eaten).

Waiva nenhungo kwazo zokuti haaimbogona ku^sata sasa kunyangwe rakareruka zakadiyi zazo (He was so lazy that he could not do any work although it was as easy as anything)

915.

vii) Conjunctives morphologically copulatives.

- a) hezo (and so, thus; lit. there those are)
hezi (and so, thus; lit. here these are)

e.g. Hezo hamba yakapa bveni mhosa (And so the tortoise laid a charge against the baboon).

Hezo kwozosara izi zitatu, citendero, citarisiro necido, asi cikuru-kuru cido (And so there now remain these three, faith, hope and charity, but the greatest is charity).

Hezi wani uasika! (And so they did come!)

- b) kuti) (because; lit. it is to say)
huti) (do.)

e.g. Haana kugogodza vatatu ualvepo kuti mambo akanga
huti)
avaregera zavo (He did not strike the three who were there because (viz. the reason being) the king had forgiven them).

Wakamutumira kumunda mvura icina kuti haamude (He
huti)
sent him to the field in the rain because (viz. which shows that) he does not like him).

916.

B) Conjunctives followed by a clause in which the predicate is in the participial mood.

1) Conjunctions:

- a) cere) (on condition that, so long as)
cero)

e.g. Enda zako cere ucudzoka nguwa iripo (Go then as long as you come back in time).

Tinoita ma^sasa mazhinji akaipa cere tisingaonekwe nava^rungu (We do many evil things so long as we are not seen by the Europeans).

Unogona kuenda mangwana cero waita sasa rangu (You can go tomorrow on condition that you have done my work).

917.

- b) kana (if)

This conjunction introduces conditional clauses containing verifiable conditions referring to the past, present or

future.

e.g. dare iri ndiro rinozotaura zecodwadi kana Seretse Khama acigona kuva ishe wenyika (This council is the one which will really pronounce whether Seretse Khama is able to become the chief of the country).

Kana usingadaro, basa redu rose ricazopera (If you don't do so, all our work will come to an end).

Kana shumba yakadya mhuka, haticawana nyama (If the lion has eaten the animal, we shall not get meat).

Kana ndicafara, handicazofara senhasi (If I shall be happy (again), I shall not be as happy as today).

Kana used in combination with kuti (that) indicates 'whether'.

e.g. Uampe havasati vanyatsofungisisa kuti kana kucema kwavanoita kwasakiswa kwazo nezikonzero zavonofunga zavo (Some have not yet carefully considered whether the complaint which they make has been caused indeed by the causes which they imagine).

918.

c) kana (when)

In this sense, kana is followed by a present perfect or exclusive participial.

e.g. Kana vapedza, vangaende kumusha (When they have finished, they can go home).

Kana totera mitero yedu, toziwa zinoitwa nemari yedu (Now when we pay our taxes, we know what is done with our money).

d) kanapo or kana followed by a possessive qualitative pronoun with possessive concord of class 8 functioning adverbially indicates 'although'

e.g. Kanapo ndicishushwa, ndinongotirira (Although I am ill-treated, I just endure (it)).

Kanapo usingade amai wako, unofanira kuwabatsira (Although you do not love your mother, you should help her).

Nenhasi handati ndamuwana kana zangu matsamba ndakanyora (Even today I have not yet found him though I have written letters).

Rwendo, kana zarwo ruri rukuru..(The way, even though it is long..)

Mwanga, kana akazosema vatendi zake, Andrea haana kumusema-sa (Even though Mwanga come to hate the Christians, he did not hate Andrew).

11) Conjunctives morphologically infinitives.

a) kuti (if, when, 'say'; lit. (to say, etc.))

e.g. Kutu ucimanya, rega kuceuka (When you run, don't look round).

Kuti Mukwanda asipo, ndiye waitonga nhau (If Mukwanda were absent, it is he who used to judge the cases).

The clause, including the conjunctive kuti, may become a phrastic possessive stem.

e.g. Pashure pokuti tabva kumusha, takasangana naye (After leaving the village, we met him).

b) kuzoti (if, when; lit. to come to say, etc.).

e.g. Kuzoti ndiciuya, imbga yangu yakandicingura (When I was coming, my dog met me).

Kuzoti kwaedza, akauraya huku yake (When it had dawned, he killed his fowl)

Kuzoti modzoka, munondiwana ndaenda (When you return, you will find me gone).

Kuzoti ndicidya, ndingagute here? (Say if I were to eat, would I be filled?)

Kuzoti ndakakora, ndingadayi ndaita zikuru (Say if I were fat, I could have done much).

c) kusati (until, unless; lit. to not say, etc.).

e.g. Kusati ini ndicida-wo kufa, naizozo rinogona-wo kufunga kuti ciyiko cinosakisa kuti vampe vanhu vawire munjodzi (Unless I too want to die, therefore I can also think what it is which causes other people to fall into calamity).

Rega imbga imire pano kusati ndasika (Let the dog stay here until I have arrived).

The sense of 'only until' is conveyed by the form kusatoti, using the deficient verb with contracted infinitive prefix: -to- (just).

e.g. Haambofa agona kutaura kana kunzwa kusatoti asekeswa necimpe cinhu (She will never be able to speak or to hear until she has been made to laugh by something)

Haalita kudaro kusatoti akanga acida (He used not to act like that unless only he was willing).

d) kudzimara (until; lit. to end by)

This conjunctive is followed by the present perfect or exclusive participial when the clause stresses a result arrived at.

e.g. Havana kutendera zake zokuti waive bofu kudzimara
vashevedza vabereki (They did not believe his
(words) that he used to be blind until they
called his parents).

Ndicagara pano kudzimara kwoedza (I shall stay
here until it dawns)

Akaramba acidaro kudzimara hari yazara nemazai
endarama (He went on doing that until the pot
was full of eggs of gold).

920.

e) kunge (if, when; lit. to be)

e.g. ..kundozionera kunge hosiyo iciri kurarama (...to go
and see for themselves if that queen were
still alive).

Waiti, kunge ari parwendo, akasangana zimpe nenyati,
waidzirwisa nokudzitanda netsimbo yake (What
he would do was that when on a journey, if he
met perhaps with buffaloes, he would engage
them and chase them with his stick).

The clause, including the conjunctive kunge, may form a
phrastic possessive stem.

e.g. Hatidi kumanikidza, tinoda kuti vanhu vedu vanyatso-
ona voga mumashure mekunge tavadudzira (We
do not want to compel, we want our people to
see clearly for themselves after we have
explained to them).

..kure kwokunge usati woona gomo (...far from where
you cannot yet see the hill).

f) kubvira (ever since; lit. to come from for)

e.g. Kubvira ndiri mpana mudiki, ndakava neshungu yokuda
kuita cimpe cinhu cokuti pasi pace cakanaka
(Ever since I was a small child, I have had
a desire to do something whereby the earth
might become a good place).

Kubvira ndauya (Since I came).

g) kusikira (until; lit. to arrive at etc.)

e.g. Tekaswera ticifamba kusikira taneta (We spent the
time walking until we were tired).

921.

h) kunyange (although; lit. to although be)

Alternative forms of this conjunctive are Kunyangwe,
seemingly the passive form of the above, and kunyangova,
in which the terminative copulative verb -nge has coalesced
with the vowel of the following infinitive kuba. Common to
all these forms is the infinitive prefix ku- (which may be
omitted), the concessive formative -nya-, and some form

of the verb -nge (be). The formative -nya- may be seen in the Ndaun conjunctive kunyati (although). It is used in Ma. in a participial with concessive sense where it is alternative to -ci-.

e.g. kana ndicita¹ura (though I speak)
kana ndinyataura (though I speak)

Examples of the conjunctives:

Kunyangwe akadziidza kwazo (Although he be very learned)

Uait¹saga munhu anepfuma zhinji kwazo vomupa mjanasikana wavo kunyangwe ari mudiki zake (They used to search for a person with much wealth and give him their daughter although she be small).

Kunyangova mu¹bati uye waiti: "Handione mhaka paari"..
(Although the governor was saying: "I see no fault in him"..)

Uanhu vaye, kunyangwe zavo vasingazarire vana vavo..
(Those people, although they do not pledge their daughters..)

The presence of the enclitic noun (i)yi? (what?) in the concessive clause has an expanding effect, kunyangwe...yi being equivalent to 'no matter how', 'however much' etc.

e.g. Kunyangwe zodi¹yi zazo, handimbokurakidzayi candinaco
(Whatever happens, I will not show you what I have).

Kunyangwe zowanda sei..¹(No matter how plentiful they are..)

922.

iii) Conjunctives morphologically verb stems.

a) The stems dzimara, dakara (until, lit. end by) are used with the same meaning and function as the conjunctive kudzimara.

(Cf. B. 11.d above).

e.g. Anondimirira dzimara nda¹sika (He waits for me until I have arrived).

b) saka (which is the reason why, and so, for that reason; lit. cause)

e.g. UaRungu vano¹batsirana saka vacikwirira nokufara (The Europeans help one another and so they advance and are happy).

Uanhu vate¹ma vazhinji vanogara vacienda mumaofisi kundocera vame; saka vaRungu vacizidza vate¹ma (Many Africans keep going into the offices to go and accuse others; therefore the Europeans

1. Cf. O'Neill, p. 145, Cf. also par. 773 above.

despise the Africans).

This conjunctive appears to have a copulative sense, particularly when commencing a sentence.

e.g. Saka imbga icitiza nokuti haaipe sadza (This is the reason why the dog runs away because he does not give it porridge).

Niakurumidza kwazo saka ndapedza (I was very quick which is the reason why I have finished).

The copulatives ndizo, ndoo or ndiye may be used with saka with the same meaning.

e.g. Niakurumidza kwazo, ndoo saka ndapedza (I was very quick, it is the reason why I have finished).

923.

c) dayi (if; lit. say this etc.)

This conjunctive is used to introduce conditional clauses which embody unverifiable conditions referring to the past, present or future.

e.g. dayi ndiciziwa zemombe, ndaidzipingudza (If I knew about cattle, I would train them).

dayi ndirini zangu, vaitondiwana ndafa nokudya, ndati rashu (If it were I, they would just find me prostrate with eating, gorged).

dayi ndisina kunzwa musoro, ndaidayi ndakamanya ndikaibata (If I had not had a sore head, I would have run and caught it).

dayi ndicatora mombe dzangu mangwana, haungazozikudza (If I were to take my cattle tomorrow, you could not then pride yourself).

If there is a second conditional clause coordinate to the first, it is introduced by a narrative form of -dayi.

e.g. dayi ndiciziwa zemombe, ndicidayi ndiciziwa zamabiza.. (If I knew about cattle and if I knew about horses..)

dayi ndakaziwa zemombe ndikagodayi ndakaziwa zamabiza.. (If I had known about cattle and if I had known about horses..)

d)

nyange	}	(although: lit. though be)
nyangwe		
nyangova		

These conjunctives are used with the same meaning and function as the forms with infinitive prefix. (Cf. B.11. h)

e.g. Nyangova cisinganake.. (Even though it be not nice..)

924.

iv) Conjunctives morphologically nouns.

a) The nouns nguwa (time), musi (day), gore (year, etc.) are used as conjunctives followed by a relative form of the verb -nge (be). The noun + this relative qualificative incorporating the verb -nge, forms a compound conjunctive introducing clauses of time. It is followed by the predicative of the clause in the participial and with its own subject.

e.g. doro rinotopera musi unenge pasi pano pasisina-vanhu
(Beer will come to an end only on the day when the world has no longer any people).

Acafa gore rinenge hwiza dziciuya (He will die in year when locusts come).

Nguwa inenge hwahwa hwucisuritswa nenyama yakadirwa icisikwa, munhu anoteura anenge ari pakati pehama dzake navamne vanhu (At the time when the beer is brought out and the sacrificed meat is being cooked, the person who sacrifices is among his relatives and other people).

925.

b) ciko (since; lit. spell) Ma.

e. g. Ciko ndapinda (ever since I came in)

in Ze. the equivalent to ciko is cingo followed by a relative qualificative.

e.g. cingo candapinda (since I came in).

In sentences, such substantives with their relative qualificatives, function adverbially. The same is true of the relative qualificative pronouns,

e.g. zandapinda (when I entered)
pavakadzoka (when they returned)
zawaramba (since you have refused).

These, and their Ma. equivalents consisting of demonstrative qualificative pronoun (functioning as the relative concord of indirect relation), + relative predicate:

e.g. izo ndapinda (when I came in)
apo vakadzoka (when they returned)
izo waramba (since you have refused)

function as adverbials of time or reason. This being the over-all function of the substantive + relative, or of the relative pronoun, one may perhaps distinguish within the compound adverbial, a conjunctive function, discharged by

the substantive cingo, the relative concords pa-, za-,
and the demonstratives apo, izo.

e.g. Izo wadaro, rega ndisonhomotsere cimba cako pasi
(Since you have done that, let me push down
your little squat house).

Similarly in the adverbials of manner, e.g.*

sezandinogona (as I am able)
sezo ndinogona (as I am able) Ma.

the conjunctive function may be discharged by the concord
seza- and its Ma. equivalent sezo.

The predicates in all these cases are in the relative
mood. But being in relative qualificatives of indirect
relation, the predicates are based on the participial.¹

926.

v) Conjunctive morphologically an adverbial.

viz. sezo (since, because; lit. like those)

e.g. Sezo uciziwa kuti handinwe hwahwa, wagondipireyi?
(Since you know I do not drink beer, why did
you give to me?)

927.

c) Conjunctives followed by a clause of which the
predicate is in the subjunctive mood.

1) Conjunctives morphologically infinitives.

a) kuti (in order that; lit. to say, do etc).

Kuti may introduce clauses of purpose after verbs indicating
aim, desire, causality as well as what is desirable.

e.g. Ndiri kusevenga kuti ndisarangwe (I am working so
that I may not be punished).

Ginosaka kuti varoyi vatyise ndecicici cokuti zombo
zavo zakaipa (What causes sorcerers to
inspire fear is this, namely their evil
instruments).

Nezo zakafanira kuti pave nedzimba dzinokwana kuti
vanhu vagare savanhu (Hence it is necessary
that there should be enough houses here so
that people may live like people).

Zakanaka kuti vatimirwe kuHomecraft (It is desirable
that they should be sent to the Homecraft
course).

1. Cf. parr. 361, 698.

The predicate in the clause following kuti may be in direct speech.

e.g. Wakamurouera pasi kuti ndimuraye (He struck him down in order to kill him).

Akadzengedza kuti ndinzi ndakadakwa (He staggered so that he might be thought drunk).

The conjunctive takes the passive form kunzi after passive verbs indicating intent, aim etc.

e.g. Akadaidzwa kuofisi kunzi azova mupurisa (He was summoned to the office so that he might come and be a policeman).

Ini ndakatimirwa mari kunzi nditenge hembe (I was sent money in order that I might buy a shirt).

Anga acitukwa kunzi asazozipamidza (He was being cursed so that he might not do it again).

The clause of purpose together with the conjunctive may function as a phrastic possessive stem.

e.g. Saka Hurumende icingunovaka zikoro zikuru zokuti vatema vawane fundo yakapindirira (This is the reason why the Government is meanwhile building large schools for the purpose of the Africans finding higher education).

Uaiti, kana vashaya pfuma yokuti varoore... (What they used to do was, if they were without wealth whereby they might marry...)

Zino Babjaan ndo kuita manyengeredzo okuti ndinzi: 'Haatye' (Then Babjaan made a pretence with the aim of being described as without fear).

928.

b) The conjunctive kuti occasionally indicates 'until', particularly when followed by another -ti in the subjunctive, which is itself followed by a participial present perfect complement.

e.g. Zino kanzuru dzingamirire here kuti vanhu vatema vatange vava nemari (Now can the councils wait until the Africans first have money).

..vacipisa vana vavo kuti mvura iti yana (...burning their children until rain fell)

Ndinaita basa rangu somutangiro wandakamboriita kuti nditi ndafa (I shall do my work according to the way in which I first started it until I am dead).

Saka icibva yagarwa navanhu iciri nyoro; ukamirira kuti iti yaoma, kana wozorindamo, inozokurotomot-sa (And so it is forthwith occupied by people while still damp; if you wait until it has dried, when you come to sleep in there, it will make you dream).

In the above examples, kuti is equivalent to kudzimara (until).

c) ¹kudzimara (and allied forms) (until; lit. to end by)
This conjunctive is followed by both present and past subjunctives according to rules which are not clear. It would seem that the subjunctive is used after kudzimara when the predicate of the following clause is expressed as an aim,²

e.g. Uakanga uacihurwira pacano kudzimara wasike kuzorwa namaDziti (They were fighting for it among themselves until they found themselves fighting with the Matebele).

Akauarambidza kwazo kudzimara afe (He forbade them strongly until he died).

929.

11) Conjunctives morphologically verb stems.

viz. dzimara, dakara etc. (until) are used with the same function and meaning as the infinitive forms above.

e.g. Kakaramba kacidaro dakara katatukire mhiri (It continued like that until it jumped on to the other side).

The conjunctives kana, dayi, kuti, kuzoti, kunge (all meaning 'if'), and the conjunctive kunyange (even if), are used with the past subjunctive to render verifiable conditions referring to the future. It is possible that the past subjunctive form is a perfect aspect.³

e.g. dayi vakasauya, tingagare kumutambo (If they don't come, we can remain at the game).

Kana nhunzi ikamhara paronda, inotseta hurwa yondohu-sanganisa neropa romumpe, cave citenda (If a fly settles on a wound, it sucks the pus and then goes and mixes it with the blood of another and there is an invalid).

Kuti ukauya kumusha, ndinozokupa mari yako (If you come to the village, I will give you your money).

Ko, kuzoti ndikauyako, ungatondiita seyi ko? (If I come there, just how would you treat me?)

Regayi nhasi tikusasikeyi tigoona Yawe wenyuyo kunge akauya kuzokupundutsayi (Let us roast you today that we may see that God of yours whether he will come to deliver you.)

Kunyange ukamanya ukadiyi..(Even if you run and do what; viz. However hard you run..)

1. Cf. par. 813.

2. Cf. par. 836.

3. Cf. par. 718.

930.

D) Conjunctive followed by a clause of which the predicate is an ideophone with predicative function.

viz. kuzoti (when; lit. to come to say etc)

e.g. Kuzoti ico cura uyeyi cikaciti: "Ndipe wo nzungu"
(When that frog came it said: "Give me ground-nuts please").

Kuzoziti cirikadzi iye kwi neshungu di ikati zino
yotanga kuingura (When that widow realised this
she was speechless and then she began to curse).

931.

E) Conjunctives followed by substantives and adverbials.

1) Conjunctions.

a) asi (except)

e.g. Ndakavaona vose asi Sadza cete (I saw them all except
only Sadza).

b) na (and)

e.g. Sadza naGutu (Sadza and Gutu)

Ini nomukadzi wangu (My wife and I)

Bere nehava (the hyena and the jackal)

Sadza naGutu vauya (Sadza and Gutu have come)

Ini nomukadzi wangu tiri kurwara (My wife and I are ill)

Bere nehava zaishamgaridzana (The hyena and the
jackal were friendly).

The conjunction na is joined to the word it links because, in most cases, its vowel coalesces with the latter's latent initial or inherent vowel.

1.Cf.Barnes, p. 165; entry: 'except'.

When not joining two words, na corresponds to 'even', 'also' etc. Na does not join sentences.

e.g. Isu ticakubatsira naiye acakubatsirawo (We will help you and he also will help you)

Nawo vakaenda (They too went).

Ndicamupa norugwaro (I will give him a book as well).¹

Handina-nomurume wose (I have not even a husband at all).

Handina-nebanga rose (I haven't even a knife at all).

The conjunctive kana, when not linking two words, is similar to na in this sense.

e.g. Kana baba, ndavaona (I saw even father)

Ndinodya twese tukara, kana nyoka (I eat all the wild animals, even snakes).

Handina-rugare kana pahuriri (I have no peace even on the bed).

Usatuke ini kana sokunditi: "Buda muno!" (Do not curse me even so as to say: "Go out from here!")

In the above examples kana and na appear to be functioning as adverbials.

Kana and na link infinitives to preceding predicates.

e.g. Havataure kana kuseka zawo (They do not talk or even laugh).

Havana kushika kana kumbotarisa musha zawo (They did not arrive or even see the village).

Wakafara nokutenda zikuru (He was glad and very grateful).

Ndicarima mangwana nokudyara mbeu kuswera-hwedza (I shall plough tomorrow and sow seed the day after).

932.

ii) Conjunctive morphologically a pronoun.

viz. Zimne (or; lit. other ones).

e.g. Femedza kuti kunouya shumba zimne mbada (Sniff out whether there comes a lion or a leopard).

Kana uyu mukadzi akafa, kana sinemunununa, waitorwa mumbe wonzi wagadza mapfiwa omukoma zimne avatete vake (When this woman died, if she had a younger sister, the other one was taken being told that she had settled the hearth-stones of her elder sister or her paternal aunt).

1. Cf. O'Neill, p. 131

933.

iii) Conjunctive morphologically an ideophone.

Viz. uye (and; lit. of coming) Ka.
uye (do.) Ze.

e.g. ..kuzowuraya ishe nompanasikana wake uye kutora
makumi matatu enombe (...to come and kill the
chief and his daughter and to take thirty
head of cattle).

..kuti mhuri yake nezipfuwo zofa nenzara uye
nyota (...that his family and flocks were dying
with hunger and thirst).

Uye joins participials as well.

e.g. Mukadzi waTsuro aciuna kuwonda kwomurume wake
uyeze aciuna kuſata kwake..(Hare's wife seeing
the leanness of her husband and seeing his
work..)

934.

iv) The reduplicated conjunction kana...kana...(either...
or)
opposes substantives and adverbials as well as participials.

e.g. Handidi kana hwahwa kana cokudya (I want neither beer
nor food).

daidza mumpe, kana uyo kana uyo (Call someone, either
that one or that one yonder).

Uakare uaitera mutero kana nembudzi kana nemombe
(Those of old used to pay the tax in goats
or in cattle).

Anofanira kuuya kana acida kana esingade (He must
come whether he wishes or not).

CHAPTER XIII

THE IDEOPHONE

935.

The part of speech dealt with in the two concluding chapters of the morphology is the exclamation. There are two main types of exclamation, the ideophone and the interjective.

The ideophone is a vivid or graphic exclamation, sometimes onomatopoeic, which indicates an action or manner of action, a state, colour, sound, smell or sensation.

e.g. Wati potyo mumba (He went potyo into the house; viz. He entered into the house).¹

936.

The ideophone differs from the interjective in that the latter is an immediate utterance or expression of the speaker's own subjective emotion, desire, assent or denial. It expresses a subjective state. The ideophone, however, is an exclamatory assertion of an action, state, colour, sound, smell or sensation which is objectively indicated. The ideophone indicates exclamatorily a state of affairs; the interjective is the exclamatory utterance of a subjective emotion.

cp. Wakati potyo (He went potyo; viz. He entered).

Wakati: "Hongu" (He said: "Yes").

937.

The ideophone has been classified as a descriptive, viz. a word which "describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity".² Nevertheless, it has seemed here more satisfactory

1. Owing to the difficulty of translating the ideophones into English, I have retained the Shona ideophone in a literal translation. Sometimes there are English onomatopoeics like 'flop' or 'clatter-clatter' which correspond to Shona ideophones. For lexical purposes ideophones may be translated by a paraphrase commencing with 'of', i.e. "pertaining to". Thus, e.g. potyo (of entering). Cf. Doke, Zulu, par. 590.
2. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p. 118. Cf. Doke, Zulu, par. 588; Lamba, par. 551; Shona Phonetics, par. 436: "Their work is that of describing predicates or qualificatives".

to classify it as a class of exclamation, with varying secondary function. A survey of the use of the ideophone in Shona may serve to justify this choice.

938.

In the majority of cases in Shona, ideophones are introduced by the verb -ti (do, go) or its passive form -nzi (be treated, suffer). In this introductory function, -ti is fully conjugated.

e.g. Mukanwa mati shutu namate (The mouth went shutu with saliva (viz. was full) cp. shutu (of being full))

Risa rati bu (The trap fell, cp. bu (of falling) (viz. went bu))

Hawa yakati pfoco asi bere cp. pfoco (of disappearing) (The jackal went pfoco (viz. disappeared) but the hyena snatched another sheep)

Dguruwe yanzi paziso ndure cp. ndure (of being stung) (The pig was treated ndure (viz. was stung) by the bee as regards being stung).

Mhuka yobva yanzi dzi noku-kandwa kudenga (The animal is forthwith treated dzi cp. dzi (of being seized) (viz. is caught) and thrown into the sky)

939.

The verbs -ti or -nzi may introduce a series of ideophones:

e.g. Rumbada ndo kubva rwati ware; te- tere nesango (The lean, cp. ware (of running off), miserable leopard forth- tere (of going far) with went ware, tetere (ran off and ran far through the bush)

Munhuyo ndo kumuti dzu, nde cp. dzu (of taking) (That man went dzu, nde nde (of giving) to him (viz. took and gave to him)).

Kudoti pasi go, ndee, nazo tuzu (Then down on the cp. go (of sitting down) ground go, ndee, tuzu ndee (of gazing ahead) as a result of that (viz. Then it sat on the ground, just looking, at a loss tuzu (of being at a loss) for what to do as a result of that)).

In these examples it seems more likely that the verbs -ti and -nzi are introducing exclamations indicative of action (e.g. pfoco : of disappearing), of state (e.g. tuzu : of being at a loss), than that they are being described (in the grammatical sense of the term) by words akin in their function to adverbs. Indeed, in the above contexts, the ideophones seem to function as substantival objects.

940.

Examples of the verb -ti (followed by an ideophone) in various moods:

e.g. - The indicative:

Moyo wakati fee nokufara	cp. fee (of whistling, of
(The heart went <u>fee</u> with	playing a flute)
gladness)	

- The present subjunctive:

Pamidza mbeu kuti gaša riti	cp. tuša (of being full)
tuša (Add more seed so	
that the tin may get full)	

- The relative:

Ndinoda kugara panze panoti	cp. fee (of blowing
tumhepo fee (I want to sit	lightly)
outside where a small breeze	
is blowing)	

- The imperative:

Iti šufu! (Make a sound!)	cp. šufu (of uttering a
	sound)

- The contracted infinitive with object concord:

Zino wakašika neciswa cake	cp. twi (of setting up
nokušikociti twi paco	on end)
coga (Then he arrived	
with his sheaf of grass	
and set it up there by	
itself).	

941.

Ideophones are separated from the introductory predicate by its extensions, either objects or adverbials.

e.g. Ishe wakati mapendekete dzi	cp. dzi (of seizing)
(The chief seized	
his shoulders)	

Wakati imbga tšarara (He	cp. tšarara (of
caught sight of the dog)	noticing)

Ndo kubva ati pasi bvuca cp. bvuca (of falling
(Thereupon he fell down violently)
violently)

Munhu ndo kumuti mucanza cp. ndo (of placing)
ndo (The person then
put (it) into his hand)).

Uasere ndo kutimo rototo cp. rototo (of burning -
(Mr. Hyena then burned intrans.)
in there)

Amai ndo kuti nazo tuzu cp. tuzu (of being at a
(Mother was astonished loss)
with them)

In these cases it is the combination of predicate embodying -ti + the ideophone which governs the object or which is described by the adverbials, even though, in word order, these extensions of the predicate intervene between -ti and the ideophone.

942.

The ideophone is often accompanied by an explanatory infinitive of related or identical meaning. This infinitive, which functions descriptively, usually follows the ideophone.

e.g. Meno cati nai kupenya (I cp. nai (of shining,
know not what goes nai, twinkling).
shining)

Dgurube yanzi paziso ndure cp. ndure (of stinging)
kurumpa, ziso ndo kubva
rati tutututuzai kuzimba tutututuzai (of
(The pig was stung on the swelling)
eye and the eye forthwith
swelled up)

943.

When used after the verb -nzwa (perceive), ideophone discharge a substantival function while remaining exclamatory.

e.g. Uaciti vu vakanzwa viri-viri zhi, cp. vu ^{of} (arriving)
kuwa kwomuti mukuru (Arriving
they heard a splintering crash, viri-viri zhi
the fall of a big tree) (of a splin-
tering crash)

dafi acinzwa izozo wakada kutiza
akasinzwa zavu kurobga cp. zavu (of being
netsimbo (The frog hearing beaten)
that wanted to run away but
he felt a thwack, being
beaten by a stick)

Gore wakanzwa go go go (Gore cp. go go go (of
heard knocks) knocking)

944.

A few examples have been met in which the ideophone follows a verb towards which it appears to exercise a descriptive function.

e.g. Kuzoti apo dzimpe mhuka dzikati cp. tutururu vee
 tauya, tasika napatsime (of arriving
 tutururu, vee.. (When then the unexpectedly)
 other animals came and arrived
 by the well, arriving un-
 expectedly..)

Uana vaGwari vondonda vari pasi cp. njo (of diving
 ndo kundosika muminzwa njo in to hide)
 (The Partridge's children
 crouched down on the ground
 and then went to fetch up in
 the thorns, diving in to hide)

While remaining exclamatory in character, the above ideophones may be said to exercise a descriptive function. The ideophone differs from the adverbial in that, while the adverbial is descriptive of an action or state indicated by a predicate, the ideophone indicates an action, state, manner of action etc., and, in doing so, may exercise a descriptive function, as above, but which, in Shona, usually functions substantivally or predicatively. In this latter function the ideophone is used independently of a predicate to indicate actions or states by itself.

945.

Ideophones may be used alone without introductory or accompanying predicate to indicate an action or state or a series of actions or states, especially when these happen in quick succession and require to be described graphically. In this use the ideophone functions predicatively.

e.g. Zirume riye zibanga piku, cp. piku (of snatching
 ceke zinhindi, mukanwa up)
 tse (That big fellow ups ceke (of cutting:
 a big knife, cuts off cp. -ceka (cut)
 a big bit, tosses (it) tse (of tossing)
 into the mouth)

Mukomana davi akati.. (The cp. davi (of answering)
 boy answered and said..)

Musi wecitanhatu vanatsuro cp. pfaca (of arriving)
 pfaca, vanhu vapedza ku-
 susura (On the sixth day
 the hares arrived, when
 people had finished
 breakfast)

Makudo ndo kundongura sareyi cp. sareyi (of remain-
 vanatsuro nehama dzavo ing cp. -sari
 vacidya nyama (The baboons (remain))
 then went off to wash and
 the hares with their rela-
 tives remained eating the
 meat)

Acizodzoka waneyi doro
rapera (On coming back
he found the beer
finished)

cp. waneyi (of finding
cp. -wana (find))

946.

In this function, when the ideophone is derived from a deficient verb, it is followed by a complement normal to the verb from which it is derived.

e.g. Ibva! Ndakakupa zokudya
musi uye, dzoke wotiza
nehombe yomurume wangu
(Go away! I gave you
food on that day and you
ungratefully ran off with
my husband's bag)

cp. dzoke with the exclu-
sive participial
(of unexpected or
unfitting action)
cp. -dzoka (return,
cf. par. 829)

Mukadzi uye rambe agere
(That woman remained
seated)

cp. rambe with the presen-
ticipial (of
continuous action)
cp. -ramba par. 816.

947.

Ideophones are often introduced by copulatives with pronominal stems. These copulatives are chiefly of the following kinds: 1) the locative demonstrative copulatives;
2) the impersonal copulative with absolute pronominal stem of the 3rd. person, class 1.

e.g. 1) Cinoſate-rege hoyo vu cp. vu (of coming, arriving)
(There comes one who
takes up work only
to drop it again)

Havo mba kumunda uye cp. mba (of going off)
(There those are off
to that field)

Rega vaſinduke kupikatura cp. tſai (of being
mundayo tione pfuma yaka- completed)
rewa naſaſa. Zizuwa nawo
nawo dakara hoyo tſai
(Let them work to uncover
that field so that we may
see the wealth spoken of
by father. A few days
constantly on it until
there that is finished)

2) Eere ndiye washu (The cp. washu (of going
hyena went away) away)
Ndiye mukadzi uye pindikiti cp. pindikiti (of
mumba (The woman entered entering quickly)
the house quickly)
Cave cinguwa ndiye pakare
ſaraſada (After a while cp. ſaraſada (of stir-
he stirred again) ring)

Rume riye kungodutira, kungo- cp. ahii kushu (of falling
 dutira, ndiye ahii, kushu off to sleep)
 kukotsira (That huge fellow
 just drank and drank, then
 he nodded and fell off to
 sleep)

948.

Ideophones may be classified according to the number of syllables they contain.

e.g. -Monosyllabic ideophones:

d1 (of being incapable of action) e.g. Uakati neshungu d1 (They were helpless with rage).

bvu (of scattering in various directions) e.g. Uakati bvu nokuseka (They collapsed with laughing)

nho (of being silent) e.g. Matumbu avanhu aiti, aka-muona auya, haacangoti bifu, akati nho vasisade kuti tsaravata naye (The crowds of people would, if they saw him come, not make a sound, keep silent, no longer wanting to converse with him)

bu (of falling) e.g. Riva rati bu (The trap fell)

- Disyllabic ideophones:

jeje (of being equal) e.g. Haana kuti jeje namamge (He was not like the others).

kapu (of being surprised) e.g. Amai vaye ndo kuti nazo kapu (That mother was surprised with that).

dzuku (of lifting up)
 kwede (of being inside) e.g. ...vakagoti nyanga dzuku, zikanzi ndiciti kusisina kwee, ndo kubva yati munhu- mbu kwede (...and she took up the horn and when an attempt was made to suck, straightway it was inside her stomach).

-Trisyllabic ideophones:

kakashu (of being lifeless) e.g. Uakaona mhembge yakangoti di kufa, kakashu, tunduma, rapata (She saw a duiker just overcome in death, lifeless, swollen, stretched out)

- Quadrisyllabic ideophones:

tutururu (of arriving un- e.g. Mbada ndo kubva yati
expectedly) tutururu (The leopard
forthwith arrived un-
expectedly).

ḡondokoto (of sitting down
quietly)
surududu (of sitting with
bowed head)
nyurududu (of going down in
water)

949.

When ideophones occur in a repeated form, monosyllabic ideophones are usually triplicated, other reduplicated.

e.g. di di di (of walking with quick steps)

gwi gwi gwi (of twitching in death)

ware ware (of going without farewell)

rove rove (of entering wholly)

tukunu tukunu (of swelling)

kongonya kongonya (of a baboon's gait)

950.

Ideophones exemplify many phonetic characteristics not found in other parts of speech. Thus they employ falling tones, initial stress (e.g. piri¹viri (of redness)), and long vowels lengthened beyond the normal (e.g. ṡii¹i (of darkness)).

951.

Ideophones of intensive meaning are derived from ideophones which express a simple concept.

e.g. mbuu (of being clear)
mbure (of being noticeably clear)
mburetete (of being very clear)
mburetetete (of being extremely clear)

ṡii (of being dark)
ṡiiriri (of being very dark)
ṡiiririri (of being extremely dark)

nho (of being silent)
nhototo (of being all suddenly silent)

ndu (of stinging)
ndure (of stinging painfully)
nduree (of stinging very painfully)

1. Cf. Doke, Shona Phonetics, par. 438.

Semantically, the ideophones may be divided into categories according as they indicate action, manner of action, state, colour, sound or smell.

e.g. Action:

kwi (of realising) e.g. Kuzoziti cirikadzi kwi..(When the widow realized these things..)

cewu (of looking round) e.g. Acidozoti cewu kuti ndione..(When he was anxiously looking round to see..)

Samama (of glancing) e.g. Wakangoti Samama akabva ati musango virikiti (He just gave a glance and then disappeared into the veld).

Manner of action:

serere (of moving as a snake)

fasha fasha (of flowing plentifully)

State:

jeje (of being equal) e.g. Cimiho ziso hazisiri jeje murudzi rumbe cete (Stature and faces are not the same in one race).

sunzuma (of sitting squatting) e.g. acangoti sunzuma-mo (just sitting squatting in there)

rashu (of being gorged) e.g. dayi ndirini zangu, vaitondiwana ndafa nokudya, ndati rashu (If it were I, they would just find me dead with eating, gorged).

Colour:

piriviri (of being red) eg. Mhiripiri inoti piriviri (The chillie is red)

ngwee (of being white)

ndo (of being dark)

sii (of being black)

zhwee (of being pale)

mbembe (of being white) Ka.

Sound:

ka6u (of gobbling up food)

ziro (of being silent)

ndu (of keeping quiet)

6ufu (of uttering a sound)

hotsi hotsi (of sneezing)

Smell:

kutu (of a rotten smell)

kupe (of a smell)

pfuu (of a bad smell)

953.

Ideophones do not appear to indicate time or place.

But note the ideophones fume (of rising early: cp. -fuma (rise early)) and gare-gare (of waiting: cp. -gara (sit)) which function as adverbials of time, meaning, respectively, 'early' and 'after a while, later on'.

e.g. Fume mangwana (Early in the morning)

Gare gare yakaona kashiri kacishamba mumvura (After a while it saw a small bird washing in the water).

954.

Some ideophones are inchoative in meaning and are used with the past form of the verb -ti with present perfect meaning.

e.g. Hari yakati tusa (The pot is full)

Tsoka dzangoti tukunu tukunu kuzimba (The feet are just swollen up).

Wakaramba akati tsemere navafundisi (He remained faithful to the missionaries).

Catuzumuka mpana-we, ndo kuramba cangoti meni dzamarara cicizikungurutsa (It fell on (me) you child, and it kept on with me all the time rolling itself).

955.

Ideophones may be formed from verbs by changing terminative -a to -e or -eyi.

e.g. yampiseyi (of suckling) cp. -yampisa (suckle)
uye (of coming) -uya (come)

Kamba akagoti rangarireyi akati..(Tortoise then pondered and said..)

cp. -rangarira (ponder)

The formation of nouns from ideophones was explained in par. 237, the formation of verbs from ideophones in parr. 484-494.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INTERJECTIVE.

956.

Interjectives are exclamations used to express various emotions, to convey assent or denial, or a call or command.

Interjectives are divided into the interjections, which are underived, and the derived interjectives, which are other parts of speech functioning as interjectives, generally without morphological change.

957.

I) The interjections.

a) Interjections of assent or denial.

Hongu (Yes!.)
Hengu (Yes!.)
Hono (Yes!.) Ka.
Hunde (Yes!.) Ma.
Ee (Yes!.)
Eya (Yes, of course!.) Ma.
Evo (Yes, of course!.)

When a superior is being addressed, the suffix -yi (in Ma. -nyi) is used.

e.g. Honguyi, cangamire (Yes, sir!)

Kwete (No!.)
Haiwa (No!.)
Bodo (No!.) Ka.
Sa (No!.) Ka.
Tai
Tai6a (No!.) Ma.

Enclitic -6a in Ma. is a negative interjection. (Cf. Tai6a (No!))

e.g. Handidi-6a (I do not want - no!)

958.

b) Interjections of interrogation.

Ko? (Tell me? I ask?)

The position of ko? is either initial to the sentence or after such interrogative forms as -yi? (the noun 'what?' or the enumerative stem) and -pi? (the adverb 'where?' or the enumerative stem)

e.g. Ko, waenda kupi? (Tell me, where has he gone?)

Wamanyireyi ko? (Why did you run, I pray?)

Here?

Cere? (Is it?) Interrogative interjections medial or final to the sentence.

Nyamba? (of surprised interrogation)

e.g. Nyamba waRungu wanodya mananga? (You say Europeans eat pumpkins?)

-su? (of incredulous surprise), (This is enclitic).

e.g. Mandisatira-su kundibvunza kuonda kwangu? (You don't say you have arrested me to ask me about my leanness?)

959.

c) Interjections of surprise.

Inga (good gracious!)

e.g. Inga, ndanga ndabata zangu zino yazopunyuka (Good gracious! I had got hold (of it) and now it slipped away!)

Hanga (What!)

e.g. Hanga, wanga wauya pano! (What, he had come here!)

Gamba (of strong surprise)

e.g. Gamba, munodya-wo nyoka nayi? (Good Lord, do you also eat snakes?)

960.

d) Interjections of emphasis.

-ka (I mean it) (This is enclitic)

e.g. Pinda-ka! (Get in!)

kani (indeed!)

wani (emphasising surprise)

nayi (indeed! (in affirmative sentences); not so? (in interrogative sentences))

waro (indeed!)

e.g. Ndauya kani! (I've come indeed!)

Hekani waro! (Thanks indeed! Thanks very much!)

Hezo wani ndaciwana! (And so I found it after all)

Hezi wani wasika (And so they came!)

Kwete kani! (Of course not!)

961.

e) Miscellaneous interjections.

toko waro (serves you right!) - of blame.

tsatu waro (serves you right!) - of blame

wo (please!) - of persuasion or conciliation.

waya (go on!) - of persuasion.

see (fie!) - of disgust.

hekani (thanks!) - of thanking, but of admiration and pleasure as well)

yowe (ouch!)

yuwi (ouch!) - of expressing pain.

962.

II. Derived interjectives.

Nouns and pronouns are used interjectively in the following cases:

a) non-vocatively

1) as exclamation of surprise, appreciation, admiration etc.

e.g. marere (wonders!)
nhasi (today!)
vakomana (boys!)
vasikena (girls!) - said by girls.
varume (men!)

Huzhinji hwavanhu! (What a lot of people!)

Marebere-nyi aya! (What tallness this! How you have grown!) Ma.

963.

11) as greetings appropriate to the time of the day, the length of time elapsed since the last greeting, the degree of intimacy etc.

Common daily greetings are the following:

Mangwanani (Good morning!)	cp. mangwanani (Morning) (6)
Masikati (Good day!)	masikati (midday) (6)
Maneru (Good evening!)	maneru (evening) (6)
Madekwana kani (Good evening indeed! A very good evening to you!)	madeko (evening) (6)
Moro (Good day!)	cp. more (good morning!) Afrik.

These greetings, when addressed to a superior, assume the suffix -yi (in Ma. -nyi).

e.g. Masikati-yi (Good day!)

Set patterns of greeting are used for various times of the day and involve question and answer. These seem to be really exclamatory in intent, somewhat like the English greeting 'How do you do?'.

e.g. for the morning:

The junior:	Mangwanani (Good morning!)
The senior:	Mangwanani (Good morning!)
The junior:	Marara? (Have you slept?)
The senior:	Ndarara marara-wo (I have slept (if) you have slept too)
The junior:	Ndarara. (I have slept)

for the day:

The junior: Masikati (Good day!)

The senior: Masikati (Good day!)

The junior: Maswera? (Have you spent time?)

The senior: Taswera maswera-wo (We have spent time (if) you too have spent time).

The junior: Taswera (We have spent time).

964.

iii) as exclamations of pain, fear, sorrow etc.

e.g. In these cases the names of relatives are used, usually with the interjection wee! Personal names of ancestors may be used.

Saša wee! (O, father!)

mai wee! (O, mother!)

tateguru wangu wee! (O, my grandfather!)

mbuya wangu wee! (O, my grandmother!)

tateguru wangu, Museka! (O, my grandfather, Museka!)

hama wee! (O, cousin!)

mpana wee! (O, child!)

UaMbire vakafa (O, the dead Mbire!) - used by the Mbire.

Lembeu (O, Lembeu (viz. Seed-eater!)) - used by the Rozi

Uari mudzimbabge (O, those in the graves.) - used by the Rozi

965.

iv) Miscellaneous exclamations.

e.g. mpace wee! (of expostulation)

vace-yi! (of expostulation)

Zotova neyi, vaceyi? (Really, what is it now?)

cokwadi (of asserting the truth) lit. of truth)

zokwadi (do.)

ziro kwazo (do.) (lit. the real things)

makorokoto (congratulations!)

966.

b) Substantives used vocatively.

Ceremonial thanks and greetings are expressed by the use of the mutupo (totem name of the clan to which the addressee belongs) together with its accompanying praise names - the cidawo (laudatory address) and the madetembedzero or matetembero (litaney of ancestral names).

e.g. the names of Nyika-dzino (Joseph) Museka are:

mutupo: Soko (Monkey)

cidawo: Mondizo

madetembedzero)
) Mukanya
 metetembero) Uari muMutemba (Those in Mutemba
 hill - a burial place)
 Matarira
 Cirongo
 Uahuye

The names of his sister, Sarurayi Museka, are the same, save that her cidawo is vudzi-jena (white hair).

When offering sacrifice to his ancestors, the officiating priest will address them by means of mutupo, cidawo and madetembedzero, adding to the latter list the personal names of those of the lineage who have recently died, and to whom he wishes to make special reference.

The cidawo is commonly used in address. The terms Mhanduwe (Sir) and Cangamire (Sir) are used to one of whose cidawo the speaker is not aware. The terms Dzenyama (Of the meat, carnivorous ones) and Mhuka-huru (Great beasts), together with the cidawo, are used to chiefs with much attendant ritual.

e.g.

Kuzoti asika padyo nomumge musha, (When he arrived near a certain village, he saw three chiefs.
 wakaona vamambo vatatu.

Wakafunga kuti: "Ndovaisa seyi maoko vandisingazibe zidawo zayo?"

He wondered, namely: "How am I to greet them (lit. put hands to them) whose laudatory addresses I do not know?"

Wakabvunza nyere, zikanzi:
 "Mumge ndowokwa Nyaruembere, mumge wokwa Mpokorume, mumge wokwa Zuva-radoka".

He asked the flute, and it was said: "One is of Nyaruembere's, one is of Mpokorume's, one of Zuva-radoka's. He sat down on arrival for a little and then greeted, saying:

Wakasikogara kashoma ndo ku isa maoko aciti:
 "Dzenyama, Nyaruembere, Dzenyama, Mpokorume, Dzenyama, Zuva-radoka".
 Vamambo awo vakashama vakati:
 "Waudzwa naani mazita edu? Uri nganga here?"

"Dzenyama, Nyaruembere Dzenyama, Mpokorume, Dzenyama, Zuva-radoka". Those chiefs were astonished and said: "By whom were you told our names? Are you a diviner?"

Wakati: "Hongu, cangamire"
 Zikanzi: "Ungagone here kurapa mjana wedu?"
 Wakati: "Timboyedza Mhuka-huru".

He said: "Yes, sir". It was said: "Can you heal our child?" He said: "Let us first try, Mhuka-huru")

Nouns and pronouns are used vocatively in normal speech:

e.g. Iwe, uya kuno! (You, come here!)

dondipa, necombo! (Give, old pal!)

Wehama! (Cousin!)
 Uehama! (Cousins!)

967.

Predicatives are used interjectively both imperatively and as mere interjectives.

a) imperatively:

e.g. the imperatives:

Ibva! (Clear out!)

Ibvayi! (Clear out ye!)

the present subjunctive:

Mundipe fodya! (Please give me tobacco!)

Usaŋe! (Don't steal!)

the hortative:

Ūgaauye pano! (Let him come here!)

Ūgavasadzoke! (Let them not return!)

The imperative dayi (do this) followed by participials forms optative phrases:

e.g. dayi ari pano! (Would that he were here!)

dayi ticingosika tose takadaro! (May we all just arrive like that!)

These phrases form protases in conditional sentences.

e.g. dayi ndaziwa, ndingadayi ndamukwazisa (If I had known, I would have greeted him).

968.

b) predicatives used interjectively and non-imperatively:

e.g. Zakanaka! (Good! - lit. They are good)

Kwaziwa! (Hail! - lit. There has been come)

Kwayiwa! (Hail! (Ma.) - lit. There has been gone(?))

Zizere! (Truly! - lit. They are full)

Ndapfidza! (I am sorry!)

Note the locative demonstrative copulatives:

hokoyo! (beware! - lit. there that is there)

hezoko! (beware! - lit. there those are there) Ka.

hevo mapera! (your number's up! - lit. there those are, you are finished)

Note the copulatives:

Rufaro kwavari! (Joy to them!)

Ruregero vakuru vangu! (Forgiveness my elders!)

Kubudirira kwandaita-wo uku! (I've made it! - lit. it is the coming out which I have done too this one)